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**COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND
THE COALITION GOVERNMENT
(2010-2015): DISCOURSE,
HEGEMONY AND 'OTHERING'**

A REYNOLDS

PhD

2017

**COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE
COALITION GOVERNMENT (2010-2015):
DISCOURSE, HEGEMONY AND 'OTHERING'**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the
University of Northumbria at Newcastle
for the degree of
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Abstract

The Coalition government's (2010-2015) programme of public sector reform and austerity resulted in fundamental changes to the orientation of community development in England. This thesis investigates what happened to community development in England during this five-year period and its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes. A post-structuralist discourse analysis methodology was operationalised and the empirical work consisted of 20 interviews with key social actors involved in community development processes in a case study local authority in the north east of England. Using post-structuralist discourse analysis, the transcripts were analysed alongside 54 key texts including: discourse by political and policy leaders, national and local policies, and academic debate. This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge by demonstrating how the Coalition programme silenced community development as a distinct and legitimate practice, and re-shaped it as social enterprise, volunteering and community organising.

The empirical findings establish four available discourses of community development. Yet, the hegemonic Enterprise discourse totalised the policy landscape and 'othered' community development as a bureaucratic, top-down, inefficient and ineffective relic of the previous New Labour government. In conjunction with the public sector cuts, this resulted in the decline of the community development worker subject position in England; with community development professionals increasingly nudged to adopt the subject positions of social entrepreneurs, professional volunteers and, to a lesser extent, community organisers. Local people were similarly nudged to volunteer in community development, social enterprise and community organising processes; and more skilled volunteers encouraged to take on professional responsibilities unsalaried. These findings suggest that the silencing and re-shaping of community development as social enterprise, volunteering and community organising is a 'new' permutation of neoliberal hegemony to roll-out citizen responsibilisation where local people provide community services rather than 'relying' on state intervention and resources.

This thesis concludes that the Coalition programme exploited the ambiguity of community development and, in doing so, exposed four historical problems in the community development field. To protect community development from future attacks, this thesis proposes a genealogical post-doctoral study to unearth these problematic roots to then cultivate a community development free of such underpinnings.

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Declaration

I declare that all the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in the thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 5th March 2013.

I declare that the Word Count of this thesis is 93,997 words

Name: Andrea Reynolds

Signature:

Date: 29th August 2017

Chapter 1 – The Scope and Structure of this Thesis

1.1 Introduction

This interdisciplinary thesis is rooted in the fields of political sociology, social policy and community development. It explores what happened to community development in national and local policy-making in England throughout the administration of the Coalition government (2010-2015), and the response from the community development academic and practitioner field. I make an original contribution to knowledge by demonstrating how the Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity was able to silence community development as a distinctive and legitimate community-based practice, to then re-shape its practices from 2010-2015. I also outline the implications this has for the academic and practitioner community development field. This gap in knowledge is filled using a post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA) methodology, and a particular method of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA), that has not been utilised previously to study social policy and community development in England.

This opening chapter begins in section 1.2 which presents the research aim of the thesis and how it builds upon previous work. The research objectives, research questions and the methods of the investigation are outlined in section 1.3. Section 1.4 establishes the policy context of this study and why it is important to the community development field. Next, section 1.5 introduces key post-structuralist terminology and how it is used throughout the thesis. Finally, section 1.6 details the overall structure of this thesis.

1.2 Aim of this study and building on previous work

The aim of this thesis is:

to determine what happened to community development in England during the five-year administration of the Coalition government (2010-

2015); and its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes.

The community development academic and practice field was already fragmented prior to the formation of the Coalition government (Coalition). As chapter two details, three embedded problems within community development have fragmented the field: (i) where its boundaries lie in relation to related practices of community work, community practice, neighbourhood work, neighbourhood management and community organising; (ii) an unhelpful **radical – reformist** binary; and (iii) the unequal power and socially antagonistic relationships between community development professionals, volunteers and local people working together in community development processes. Emejulu (2010) sought to illuminate and tackle these embedded problems, especially ii and iii, by reconceptualising community development as discourse. Emejulu (2010) analysed community development discourses, in both the UK and the USA, from 1968-1997 to conclude that some community development discourses can reproduce undemocratic and disrespectful identities on to local people involved in community development processes; which undermine the values and principles of community development. This persisted "... whether a community development discourse defines itself as either 'radical' or 'conservative'" (ibid, p.v).

These findings echo my own professional and volunteer experiences within community development processes in four different countries (Scotland, USA, Australia and Nicaragua) over eight years. I encountered a recurring barrier I perceived to have a negative influence on the ability of these community development processes to achieve their overarching community development aims and objectives. This barrier was 'othering' practices between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes due to contrasting understandings of community development. These different understandings were influenced by: (i) the values and beliefs of each social actor; (ii) the adoption of an overarching political ideology; and (iii) the community development process being shaped by the introduction of new policies, including national social policies. The social actors involved in these community development processes would often disagree on these factors which resulted in antagonistic relationships that were marked by differences, including designations of inferiority and superiority.

I was motivated to undertake this study to understand these ‘othering’ practices but within the specific, and contemporaneous, socio-economic and political context of the Coalition; and to explore its implications for community development processes in England. Being located in the north east (NE) of England, I was interested in how the community development field in the region was responding to the policy, legislation and policy drivers of the Coalition, and how such developments could influence these ‘othering’ practices. Therefore, this thesis draws upon three aspects of Emejulu’s (2010) study, which *figure 1.1* illustrates. *Figure 1.2* then displays how my thesis builds upon this study.

Figure 1.1 Reproduction of three aspects of Emejulu’s (2010) study

1. Reconceptualises community development as a discursive field of knowledge where competing discourses of community development ‘fight’ for dominance and hegemonic articulation;
2. Uses a post-structuralist definition of discourse where discourse is a “... social and political construction which establishes a system of relations between different objects and practices, while providing subject positions with which social agents can identify” (Howarth, 2000, p.102);
3. Adopts Hansen’s (2006) PDA methodology.

Figure 1.2 How this thesis builds upon Emejulu’s (2010) study

1. Uses Hansen’s post-structuralist discourse analysis methodology to study the administration of the Coalition government (2010 – 2015) and its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes in England;
2. Reconceptualises community development as both an *empty* and a *floating signifier*;
3. Details the construction of community development discourses across five distinct genres of texts which include national and local policies;
4. Studies the discursive encounter between community development professionals, *volunteers* and local people.

Emejulu’s (2010) study analysed the construction of community development discourses within three politically salient moments in both the UK and US (1968-1975; 1979-1985; 1992-1997) using Hansen’s PDA methodology. This thesis builds upon Emejulu’s work by analysing a particular politically salient moment she

did not study (2010-2015). Additionally, this author did not separate community development from its related practices. Chapter two of this thesis outlines that it is difficult to separate community development from its related community based practices. However, I focus on the debates between key theorists in the community development field who separate these practices and mark them as distinct; and the implications of this for community development in England.

This thesis also highlights how the community development field has been preoccupied with reproducing the 'best' and most 'radical' definition of community development possible "... to defend the practice of community development from the consistent and ideological confusion surrounding it" (Craig *et al.*, 2011a, p.9). Another definition of community development¹ was recently developed to combat such ideological confusion at the International Association for Community Development (IACD) and Community Development Society (CDS) annual conference in 2016 (McConnell, 2016). Chapter two demonstrates that these repeated attempts to re-define community development have actually fractured the field further. Therefore, unlike Emejulu (2010) and other eminent figures in the field, I do not attempt to (re)produce a 'better' definition of community development², but I instead utilise a post-structuralist conceptualisation of community development as an *empty* and *floating signifier* that takes on particular meanings depending on which discourses are being (re)produced. Under post-structuralist discourse theory (PDT), as detailed in chapter three, an *empty* and *floating signifier* only acquires meaning through its positioning to other signifiers, and the signification / meaning of an *empty* and *floating signifier* then crystallises within a particular discourse (Laclau, 1996; Žižek, 1989). Resultantly, I focus on how each discourse successfully, and contrastingly, re-positions and re-articulates the *empty* and *floating signifier* of 'community development', and the implications this has for community development.

This thesis details the constitution of four distinct community development discourses across five specific genres of texts, which include national and local

¹ Community development is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes participative democracy, sustainable development, rights, equality, economic opportunity and social justice, through the organisation, education and empowerment of people within their communities, whether these be of locality, identity or interest, in urban and rural settings.

² Emejulu (2010) defines community development as "a political and social process of education and action to achieve self-determination and social justice for marginalised groups" (p.1).

policy documents in England. Emejulu's (2010) original study concentrated on the development of community development discourses at a national level only; and analysed texts across two intertextual models (official discourse and marginal political discourses) and three distinct genres (key influences on national policy, academic debate and marginal books / pamphlets). As defined in chapter three, under Hansen's (2006) PDA methodology there are three intertextual models that texts can be separated into: (i) official discourse, (ii) wider political debate, (iii) cultural / marginal political discourses. I analyse community development discourses at both a national and local level across three separate genres from official discourse (key influences on national policy, national policy / strategies and local policy / strategies) and two different genres from cultural / marginal political discourses (academic debate and grassroots interviews). According to Hansen (2006), the more intertextual models and genres of text included in the overall research design, the stronger the foundation for assessing the hegemony of dominant discourses and for uncovering competing, but comparatively marginalised or silenced, discourses. As a result, the discursive formation of the subject positions of community development professionals, volunteers and local people in national and local policy debates is given a wide scope in my thesis by tracing their intertextual links and stability across two intertextual models and five genres of texts.

Finally, I examine the *discursive encounter* between not only community development professionals and local people involved in community development processes as Emejulu (2010) does; but between community development professionals, *volunteers* and local people. As I demonstrate in chapter three, discursive encounters evolve around constructions of inferiority and superiority, therefore convey a particular distribution of discursive and political power awarded to one Self at the expense of Others (Hansen, 2006). I am therefore not concerned with comparing how these different *Selves* (community development professionals, volunteers and local people) are individually constructed through discourse, but instead interested in their *discursive encounters* within community development processes. Resultantly, I set out to determine which of these three social actors are being constructed in inferior or superior terms in relation to each other.

Professionals are defined in this study as workers who are involved in managing, leading and / or supporting community development processes, and are paid to work in that capacity. Volunteers are those who are voluntarily managing, leading and / or supporting community development processes and can include local people who are formally giving their time to a community development process. Local people are at the centre of community development processes, and are benefitting from these processes, but are not volunteering their time to ensure the continuation of the community development process they are involved with. Although it is possible for a social actor to have more than one subject position within a community development process, i.e. both a professional and a volunteer or both a volunteer and a local person (service user), only one subject position can be enacted at one time. This thesis focusses on the range of subject positions that each social actor can potentially adopt within community development processes. These subject positions are not limited to the broad categories of 'professional', 'volunteer' and 'local person', and can include more detailed definitions such as: 'public sector professional', 'bureaucrat', 'professional / skilled volunteer', 'formal volunteer', 'skilled local people' and 'insider local people'. These more detailed subject positions are discussed at length in chapter six of this thesis.

1.3 Research objectives, research questions and outline of investigation

Building on Emejulu's (2010) thesis which reconceptualised community development as discourse "... to understand how various discursive repertoires influence the available identities for practitioners and community groups taking part in community development activities" (p.v), the objectives of this thesis are:

- (i) *To determine which discourses of community development were available during the administration of the Coalition government (2010 – 2015);*
- (ii) *To establish what implications these discourses have for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes in England.*

To fulfil these objectives, this study explores and answers the following research questions:

- (i) *What were the competing discourses of community development available in England between 2010 and 2015?*
- (ii) *Which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced?*
- (iii) *What subject positions were available within each discourse for professionals, volunteers and local people to adopt within community development processes?*

In order to answer these research questions, I adopt Hansen's (2006) PDA methodology. This thesis also utilises a particular PDA method rooted in Laclau & Mouffe's PDT. A post-structuralist conceptualisation of community development as an *empty* and *floating signifier* that takes on particular meanings depending on which discourses are being (re)produced is operationalised; as is a post-structuralist definition of discourse as "... social and political construction which establishes a system of relations between different objects and practices, while providing subject positions with which social agents can identify" (Howarth, 2000, p.102).

The empirical work comprised twenty in-depth interviews, from March to December 2013, with professionals, volunteers and local people actively involved in three community development projects in a case study local authority in the north-east of England. Using PDA the transcripts were analysed alongside fifty-four key texts³. These key texts include national policy and strategy documents; local strategy and policy documents published by the case study local authority Council; key speeches and texts by political and policy leaders; and academic publications. The fifty-four key texts were all authored between May 2010 and May 2015 to coincide with Coalition's period of office; with the exception of Blond (2010) published in late March 2010. These texts cover both official (national and case study local authority policy debate, and key influences on policy) and oppositional discourse (academic debate and grassroots interviews) to scope the community development field as a whole in England. My analysis of these seventy-four texts combined details: (i) the constitution and status of each

³ See Appendix A for a full list of these texts.

competing community development discourse at a national level; (ii) the stability of these national discourses through charting their development and re-articulation across one case study local authority district in England; and (iii) how the subject positions available within each community development discourse legitimate and enact particular practices of community development. Throughout this analysis I present the views of the authors of the selected seventy-four texts. This is to ensure that my own voice and positionality does not override, or bias, the voices of the selected authors. When I do present my own voice in the analysis I make this clear and provide appropriate justification for its inclusion, i.e. to link the discussed authors' comments to the policy context I present in detail in chapter two.

1.4 Policy context for the thesis

The formation of the UK Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government, in May 2010, and its five-year programme of public sector reform and austerity attracted considerable media, policy and academic interest. The Coalition declared that the aim of this programme was to significantly reduce the 10% GDP deficit that the Coalition had 'inherited' from the previous New Labour government in the aftermath of the 2007/8 financial crisis and the subsequent global economic recession (Cabinet Office, 2010d; Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011; Walker and Walker, 2011). This programme – and its policy, legislation and policy drivers of 'Big Society', the Localism Act (2011), austerity, the Community Organisers Programme and social enterprise – altered the landscape of community development between 2010 and 2015, with the profile of professional community development work reported to be "in decline" (Banks *et al.*, 2013a, p.3; Chanan & Miller, 2013a; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2011a). Specifically, the 'Big Society' policy agenda advocated that communities, citizens and volunteers could, without community development support, utilise both 'Big Society' policy and the Localism Act (2011) to create localised power structures, and directly obtain local government monetary support, to build 'stronger' and more 'independent' communities (Cabinet Office, 2010a; Cameron, 2010; Chanan & Miller, 2010). This marked a fundamental policy shift as under New Labour (1997-2010) community

development received considerable support with infrastructure investment (Taylor, 2012).

The Coalition programme has been scrutinised because of the sheer magnitude of the public sector cuts under austerity, including cuts to the budgets of the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) and local authorities, especially in England (Hastings *et al.*, 2012; Hastings *et al.*, 2015a; Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011). The DCLG's budget decreased by 51% (2010-2015) (Wheeler, 2015), and the average reduction to local authority budgets in England was 28% which translated to a "real terms" (Hastings *et al.*, 2015a, p.601) cut of 40% (ibid; Hastings *et al.*, 2012). These budget cuts have also adversely affected the voluntary and community sector (VCS) and it is estimated that public sector contracts were delivered by the VCS during this timeframe for 8-10% less (Hastings *et al.*, 2015a; Woolley, 2015). These developments affected the north-east of England. It has been claimed the most deprived local authorities in this region had their budgets cut six times greater than their southern counterparts (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Wilding, 2011). Additionally, the demise of the Northern Rock Foundation removed regional funding from the sector (VONNE, 2014). In summary, these developments had significant implications for community development practices in England; including the north-east.

1.5 Terminology

This thesis operationalises a post-structuralist theoretical, methodological and analytical framework all underpinned by a post-structuralist epistemology and ontology⁴. Therefore, this is a post-structuralist thesis that reconceptualises its key concepts of community development, discourse and subject positions from a post-structuralist standpoint. How community development and discourse are conceptualised in this thesis was discussed in section 1.3. Subject positions are defined as discursive repertoires, or *Se/ves*, which individual social actors adopt to present themselves in particular ways to others (Burr, 1995; Davies & Harré, 1999;

⁴ Chapter three explains this in full.

Törrönen, 2001). The subject positions of professionals, volunteers and local people are then operationalised in this thesis from a post-structuralist perspective as *empty* and/or *floating signifiers* that acquire particular meanings and significations within particular discourses. Both *empty* and *floating signifiers* are key analytical concepts from PDT which is the theoretical framework of this thesis. Other key analytical concepts from PDT are also adopted which include: *nodal points*, *binary pairs (oppositions)*, *chains of equivalence*, *logic of equivalence*, *logic of difference*, *deconstruction*, *'othering'*, *hegemony*, *articulation* and *the radical 'Other'*. Definitions of each of these analytical concepts, their interconnections, and how they are used in this thesis are fully outlined in chapter three.

1.6 Structure of this thesis

In section 1.4, I briefly introduced the Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity, and some implications for community development. This is developed in chapter two where I first detail the dilemmas of defining both community development and the community development field; and then the discrepancies regarding where the limits of community development lie. I then present three embedded problems within the community development field and suggest that these problems were potentially exacerbated as a result of the Coalition programme. This chapter then moves on to provide an overview of the programme's key policy and legislation – including 'Big Society' policy, the Localism Act (2011) and austerity - and isolates some of the reported impacts these developments had in England; particularly, the north-east of England. The community development field's initial responses to the programme are charted, and this chapter concludes that the Coalition may be exploiting the ambiguity of community development to further embed their commitment to neoliberal hegemony.

Chapter three outlines the methodology chosen for this research. It explains why PDT was selected as the theoretical framework of this thesis, how this theoretical framework was applied as a form of PDA, and how both have been incorporated into a detailed PDA methodology. This chapter also presents Hansen's (2006) *one*

moment research design as an overarching methodological framework and details how it shaped the sampling of the seventy-four texts selected for analysis. The research methods undertaken with key social actors involved in three community development projects based in a case study local authority in the north-east of England, and the ethical issues connected with undertaking such research methods, are also detailed. Finally, this chapter discusses some issues using a PDA methodology; including a discussion on researcher reflexivity, positionality, credibility, authenticity and trustworthiness.

Chapter four is the first findings chapter and outlines three community development discourses available in national policy and academic debate from 2010-2015. First, this chapter focusses on the constitution of the Enterprise discourse as the dominant discourse available at a national level. This discourse endorses the devolution of service provision responsibility to civil society and its key social actors, and nudges them to form social enterprises to run public services. The construction of the Transformation discourse as a marginal community development discourse in national debate is then discussed. This discourse promotes the political transformation of both the Conservative and the Labour Party, and the transformation of public services through public sector professionals and local people coproducing services. Finally, this chapter reviews the (re)production of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse as a silenced community development discourse in national debate that is not available in official texts, but is consistently developed in oppositional debate as an oppositional discourse to both the Enterprise discourse and the Transformation discourse. The Social Justice / Democracy discourse offers an alternative to neoliberal hegemony and supports civil society movements committed to radical and active democracy that are underpinned by an egalitarian and redistributive framework of equality and social justice.

Chapter five discusses the findings from the case study local authority in England. It explores how the three national discourses were re-articulated at a local level. This chapter first focusses on the Enterprise discourse and how it maintains its hegemonic status within local official debate; and then moves on to detail how the participants of the three selected community development projects are responding to, enacting, legitimating and resisting this discourse. Next, this chapter establishes that the Transformation discourse is not present within the local

authority policy texts; but an alternative Transformation discourse committed to neighbourhood and personal transformation articulates in the three community development projects. How remnants of the Partnership discourse – dominant during the New Labour administration (1997-2010) – in the local authority policy texts are both ‘othered’ and incorporated into the hegemonic Enterprise discourse is also discussed. Finally, this chapter outlines how Social Justice / Democracy is silenced from local official debate; but is maintained, legitimated and enacted as an oppositional discourse in one community development project.

Chapter six is the final chapter of my empirical findings and details which subject positions of professionals, volunteers and local people are available for key social actors to adopt within community development processes under the dominant Enterprise discourse, the marginal National Transformation and Local Transformation discourses, and the silenced but oppositional Social Justice / Democracy discourse. To do this, the *spatial*, *temporal* and *ethical* identity constructions for each subject position are charted. This chapter also outlines which available subject positions are *privileged* and *marked* within each discourse, and how much agency these subject positions have in relation to each other. Finally, the implications of the availability of these subject positions within each community development discourse are discussed; including how each subject position reproduces, enacts and legitimates particular practices of community development.

Chapter seven concludes my thesis by revisiting its aim, objectives, and presents a summary of evidence to support the research questions. I also outline the implications of my findings for the community development field, discuss my empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to knowledge, and reflect on the limitations of this thesis. I then close this investigation by presenting some recommendations for post-2015 community development in England, which includes an outline for post-doctoral research.

Chapter 2 – Community development and the Coalition government’s programme of public sector reform and austerity

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to investigate what happened to community development in England during the five-year administration of the Coalition government and its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes. To achieve this aim, this second chapter provides an overview of the community development field in England. Essentially, it suggests that community development was under duress and potentially re-shaped through the Coalition government’s programme of austerity and public sector reform. This chapter begins in section 2.2 by defining community development; outlines its similarities and differences to other community-based practices; presents its historical and political roots, and highlights its embedded problems. Section 2.3 then introduces the politics surrounding the formation of the Coalition government; provides an overview of its programme of public sector reform and austerity; and outlines the implications this programme had for England, including the north east of England⁵. Section 2.4 presents a brief synopsis of the response from key academics in the community development field to this programme⁶. This section identifies and proposes that the Coalition was exploiting the ambiguity of community development to deepen their commitment to neoliberal hegemony. Section 2.5 concludes this chapter and includes a summary section that reiterates why the aim and objectives of this investigation are important.

⁵ The Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity is critically analysed in chapters four, five and six. This includes an in-depth analysis of key political influences on this programme; national policy documents released by the Department for Communities and Local Government, academic debate critiquing the programme, and local policy and practice debate within one case study local authority in the NE of England. The purpose of sections 2.3.3 - 2.3.6 is solely to provide an overview of the programme, and the main criticisms against it, to contextualise the analysis of later chapters.

⁶ Similarly, section 2.4 provides an overview of the community development field’s response to the Coalition programme. How community development and its related practices were shaped and re-articulated by the Coalition programme is critically analysed in chapters four, five and six.

2.2 The community development field in England

2.2.1 *Competing definitions of community development*

A field of study or practice normatively consists of the intertwining of particular skills, knowledge, concepts, principles and practical experience; taught in both academic and professional settings (Dall’Alba, 1993). For example, scholars such as Bird *et al.* (2002) assert that an academic and practice field must have three criteria: (i) professional associations with distinguishable values, principles and ethical codes; (ii) opportunities for employment; and (iii) an established body of theoretical and research literature. Community development fulfils all three criteria (cf. Federation for Community Development Learning, 2015) although its theories, values, ethics and practices can also be studied under related disciplines and fields, such as: social work, public policy, community education, youth work, international development and public health⁷. According to Craig *et al.* (2011a):

“Community development... has always had an ambiguous nature... the downside of its ambiguity of course is... that it can be colonised by those working with different values, often leading to confusion about what community development really is.” (p.7)

The notion that community development is an ambiguous and contested term with nebulous boundaries is agreed within the community development field (cf. Gilchrist, 2009; Kenny, 2016; Mayo, 2008; Taylor, 2012). Yet, Gilchrist (2009) suggests that there are “... some evident continuities in definition and application” (p.44). These continuities are located in community development’s key values and frameworks, identified as: dignity, serenity, sustainability, human rights, equality, empathy and empowerment (Gilchrist, 2009). Individual and specific concepts such as ‘empowerment’ are in themselves regarded as “... difficult and somewhat paradoxical” (Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016, p.66-67) in the field. This concept and its definitions range from power being developed within individuals and communities

⁷ Examples include: MA International Social Work and Community Development (Durham University); MEd Adult Education, Community Development and Youth Work (University of Glasgow); MA Applied Anthropology and Community Development (Goldsmiths, University of London); MA Health and Community Development Studies (De Montfort University); BSc (Hons) Public Policy and Community Development (Birkbeck, University of London).

(ibid; lfe, 2016) to “... a process of collective liberation from oppression by becoming critical” (Ledwith, 2016, p.xiii).

Community development also promotes the values of social and environmental justice. Like empowerment, social justice is a contested concept. Ledwith (2005) defines social justice as a process that “...aims to create equal worth, equal rights, opportunities for all and the elimination of inequalities reinforced by poverty” (p.xv). Alternatively, the Centre for Social Justice defines social justice in relation to a number of indicators, which include: family cohesion, educational opportunities and success, participation in employment and abdication from ‘risky’ behaviours (Bochel, 2011; Crossley, 2017). Conceptualisations of environmental justice are not as prevalent as social justice in the field. But, they are less ambiguous, with community development reproducing as committed to the development of holistic communities that have respect for all life and nature, and are reducing their dependency on depleting natural sources (Blewitt, 2008a; lfe, 2016; Ledwith, 2016). Ledwith (2005; 2016) adds that both social and environmental justice can be cultivated through processes of empowerment and conscientisation. Conscientisation is rooted in the work of Paulo Freire (1921-1997), links to empowerment, and is defined as:

“...a process of critical consciousness that starts with creating the context for people to question their everyday experience in order to recognise oppression as a political injustice rather than a personal failing.” (Ledwith, 2016, p.xi)

According to Freire (1990), there are three levels of consciousness: magical, naïve and critical. Focussing on naïve and critical consciousness, Freire (ibid) defines the former as individuals interpreting oppressive life circumstances as resulting from their own personal failures rather than unequal social, cultural, economic and political factors working against them. Conscientisation work within community development processes thus aids individuals and communities to connect their own life situations to unjust socio-economic, political and cultural circumstances and how these circumstances could be contributing to their situations (ibid). In turn, this leads to increased awareness of social and environmental justice issues at both the micro and macro level (Ledwith, 2016).

The Federation for Community Development Learning⁸ (FCDL) (2009) defines community development as a “... long-term value based process which aims to address imbalances in power and bring about change founded on social justice, equality and inclusion” (cited in Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011, p.55). Social inclusion is also a contested concept within the community development field as it can be defined from a range of perspectives, including: egalitarian and redistributive, social integrationist and social / moral pathology (cf. Carlisle, 2011; Levitas, 1998; Lister, 2004)⁹. Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) add that adopting a community development approach is a commitment to ensuring that “... the issues and priorities are identified and agreed by the community themselves, and that people are encouraged to work together towards a collective solution to a shared concern” (p.9). In summary, the agreed core values driving community development are: a commitment to equality, social and environmental justice, empowerment, conscientisation and community-led social change.

Focussing on definition, Taylor, Barr & West (2000) state that community development can also be referred to as ‘capacity building’. This is particularly so internationally where the Budapest (2004), Yaounde (2005) and Hong Kong (2007) Declarations posit that community development “... strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their own groups, organisations and networks” (Craig *et al.*, 2004; cited in Gilchrist, 2009, p.24). In the UK context, theorists such as Craig (2007) note that ‘community capacity building’ became “the new holy grail” (p.273) in reference to urban policy, regeneration and social development since the 1990s; and intertwined with community development practice¹⁰. Others such as Banks & Butcher (2013) define capacity building as: the “(d)velopment of the skills, knowledge and confidence of community members to assess their own needs, develop plans to meet them and carry through these plans in groups and organisations controlled by, and accountable to, the community” (p.17).

⁸ Established in 1970 to provide training for paid and unpaid community (development) workers and produces community development’s national occupational standards (Craig *et al.*, 2011a).

⁹ How social inclusion entered the lexicon of community development under the New Labour administration (1997-2010) is discussed in section 2.2.5.

¹⁰ How ‘community capacity building’ gained currency during the Conservative (1990-1997) and New Labour administration due to the influence of the United Nations Development Programme and The World Bank, and its structural adjustment programmes, is discussed in section 2.2.5.

Similarly, Skinner (2006) defines capacity building as: “activities, resources and support that strengthens the skills, abilities and confidence of people and community groups to take effective action and leading roles in the development of communities” (cited in Henderson & Thomas, 2013, p.15). These capacity building definitions share with community development a commitment to community-led social change and, arguably, some aspects of empowerment, i.e. strengthens people’s skills, abilities and confidence levels. It is important to pause and consider that references to social justice and inequalities are often noticeably absent, intentionally or not, from definitions of community capacity building.

In a similar context, The Community Development Exchange (CDX)¹¹ defines community development as: “an occupation (both paid and unpaid)” (CDX, 2006, p.1; cited in Gilchrist, 2009, p.36) rather than a process, and abides to specific occupational standards. Moves to promote community development as an occupation or a profession, rather than an approach or model of working in the UK, has been in operation since the 1990s¹² (cf. Banks, 2011) with the development of occupational standards for community development arriving in 2001 (Banks, 2003). The FCDL (2001; 2009; 2015) developed these standards to enable communities to organise and work together under community development processes to: (i) identify their own needs; (ii) influence the decisions which affect them; and (iii) improve the quality of their lives, their community and the society they live in (Banks, 2011). Additionally, these standards endorse the values of: equality and discrimination, social justice, collective action, community empowerment, and working and learning together (ibid). These are consistent with the definitions of community development covered. Nonetheless, these moves to professionalise community development in the 1990s were controversial:

“Until recently, community development, as an occupational activity, was confined to a relatively marginal, fragmented, but often irritatingly radical group of workers... seeking social transformation via political action in civil society. Today as part of a restructuring of welfare provision... community development has become one of the cornerstones of social welfare intervention strategies.” (Miller & Ahmad, 2011¹³, p.223)

¹¹ The umbrella body for community development in the UK from 1991 to 2012.

¹² Attempts to professionalise community work were more dominant in the 1980s. This is discussed in section 2.2.5.

¹³ This chapter was originally published in 1997 as an article for the *Policy & Politics* journal.

A tension is unveiled here in relation to what the focus of community development should be, i.e. radical social transformation via political action within non-statutory organisations or reformist partnership working that promotes self-help strategies to achieve social integration and/or the development and delivery of public services. This **radical - reformist** binary is entrenched within the community development field (cf. Banks, 2011; Emejulu, 2010; Mayo, 2011; Powell & Geoghegan, 2006; Purcell, 2012) and is employed to differentiate between community development practices. Ledwith (2005) argues:

“Radical community development is committed to collective action for social and environmental justice... This begins in a process of empowerment through critical consciousness, and grows through participation in local issues... A critical approach calls for an analysis of power and discrimination in society... Collective action, based on this analysis, focusses on the root causes of discrimination rather than the symptoms.” (p.1)

Ledwith’s focus on radical community development being rooted in a Freirean critical approach and collective action additionally stresses the debate concerning the preferred types of ‘services’ community development provides, i.e. collective action or local service provision. However, both Newman & Clarke (2016) and Taylor (2012) emphasise that even radical Freirean pedagogy can be re-articulated as reformist practice if ‘rolled-out’ through local service provision provided by local government. Banks (2011) defines reformist practice as driven by public sector reform and underpinned by conservative and consensus-seeking ideologies that critically focus on community and individual self-help; but rarely connect to broader social change movements and processes¹⁴.

It remains unresolved whether community development is: (i) an approach to working that can be adopted by a range of practitioners working in communities; (ii) an occupation that adheres to particular standards; or (iii) a social movement where community development workers facilitate the organisation of community groups committed to political action for social change (Banks & Butcher, 2013; Gilchrist, 2009; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011; Powell, 2013). Both i and ii are typically regarded as more reformist community development practices (cf. Kenny, 2016; Purcell, 2012); whilst iii is acknowledged as more radical (Ledwith, 2005; 2011; 2016; Purcell, 2012; Taylor, 2012). Still, Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) suggest that

¹⁴ How community development has been, historically, shaped by public service reform agendas of the state is discussed in sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5.

whether community development is regarded as radical or reformist is “... to some extent dependent on context” (p.6), which I explore in sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5.

2.2.2 Community development's related practices

“There is no agreement among practitioners about the exact use of the terms, and some phrases, especially ‘community work’ and ‘community development’ are used in different ways by different writers. The terms are also sometimes interchanged by the same writer or used rather loosely... Community work is also constantly evolving.” (Twelvetrees, 2008, p.1).

Both Banks (2011) and Twelvetrees (2008) claim that community work is also an ambiguous term with contested boundaries, particularly in relation to community development. Within the community development field, community work is regarded as either: (i) a distinct community-based practice which emerged from social work¹⁵ (Banks, 2011; Stepney & Popple, 2008), or (ii) an umbrella term for a range community-based practices which include community development (Popple, 1995; 2015; Powell & Geoghegan, 2006; Twelvetrees, 2008). Twelvetrees (2008) maintains that a feature of community work should include “a better deal” (p.2) for communities of place, interest and identity. This, he argues, is achieved through collective action where individuals develop “... more skills and confidence in the process” (ibid). But, community development also aims to do this¹⁶.

In 1968, the Gulbenkian Report¹⁷ defined community work as “... a full-time professional practice based in neighbourhoods, which helped local people to decide, plan and take action to meet their needs with the help of outside resources” (cited in Ledwith, 2005, p.10). From this report, three key components of community work emerge: (i) improving the delivery of local services; (ii) developing interagency coordination; and (iii) influencing policy and planning. Both i and iii overlap with the services community development is claimed to provide¹⁸.

¹⁵ Section 2.2.4 discusses the links between social and community work.

¹⁶ See section 2.2.1.

¹⁷ Authored by Dame Eileen Youngusband and funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

¹⁸ See section 2.2.1.

Henderson, Jones & Thomas (1980) emphasise the community worker's role within community work processes as "... an external 'expert' or change-agent" (p.131) who undertakes action either on behalf of local people or directly to meet their needs. Community work can be carried out by a range of practitioners who include "... social workers, housing officers, clergy, adult educators or health workers – in addition to, or as part of, their 'normal' work" (Twelvetrees, 2008, p.2; Banks & Butcher, 2013; Henderson, 2007). Banks & Butcher (2013) add that community workers need not be professionally qualified in community work or a related field, but should identify with the occupational standards, knowledge and values of community development¹⁹. Again, there is significant overlap between community work and community development.

The boundaries of both community development and community work blur further with the development of community practice. Community practice is also regarded as an umbrella term for a range of community-based practices:

"By 'community practice' we mean the work done by paid and voluntary workers that is based in and / or concerned to stimulate or develop communities of place, interest and identity." (Banks *et al.*, 2013a, p.1)

This definition of community practice does little to differentiate it from both community development and community work. Yet, Banks *et al.* (2003) advocate that community practice is "... broader than community work and community development" (p.2) and focusses on "... a range of professional practitioners and self-managed community groups [who] were adopting community work approaches or methods to engage with communities as part of their jobs" (*ibid.*). But, community work also encompasses a broad range of professional practitioners who use community work methods. Additionally, like community workers, not all community practitioners are professionally community development qualified (*ibid.*). However, Henderson (2007) postulates that a crucial distinction between community work and community practice is that the latter "... embraces the development and implementation of community policies" (p.4) and "... is concerned with institutional change, albeit not in isolation from practice at community or organisational level" (*ibid.*).

¹⁹ These were outlined in section 2.2.1.

Banks *et al.*, (2013a), Chanan & Miller (2013), Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) and Henderson & Thomas (2013) and acknowledge that "... community development has helped to create community practice" (Chanan & Miller, 2013, p.2). There is an inherent tension between these terms however as some community development workers fight against community development work "... being absorbed into conventional service objectives" (ibid) of community practice. Again, the **radical – reformist** binary is evident, where community practice is regarded as more reformist and conservative than community development due to community practice's focus on service provision (Chanan & Miller, 2013). Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) relatedly claim that community development has become mainstreamed within community practice; resulting in the skills and values base of community development becoming "... diluted, reduced to a set of techniques captured in a bewildering array of toolkits and guides" (p.137). This highlights that community development has become more of a way of working than a distinct profession or social movement, and reiterates that the community development field is divided on key issues which are still unresolved.

The development of critical community practice exacerbates these tensions. Critical community practice is underpinned by the values and principles of social justice, social inclusion, social self-determination and social solidarity (Butcher, 2007). There is clear overlap here between the values of critical community practice and the values and occupational standards of community development²⁰. Banks & Butcher (2013) claim that critical community practice is "... based around a critical analysis of political and economic power in society and the promotion of outcomes linked to... radical change in power structures" (p.25). Once again, a **radical - reformist** binary is activated; but, in this instance, it is critical community practice that is radical in comparison to the reformist community practice focussed on service provision.

Banks & Butcher (2013) state that the critical community practitioner's role is:

"... to work with others in community settings to raise awareness and develop critical consciousness of the political, economic and social contexts with which they work and subject the attitudes and behaviours of themselves and others to critical scrutiny." (p.26)

²⁰ See section 2.2.1.

These practices share remarkable overlap with the role of the radical community development worker who practises Freirean community development; establishing similarities between radical community development and critical community practice. This excerpt suggests a power imbalance between the critical community practitioner / radical community development worker and local people, i.e. the latter are largely dependent on the former to develop critical consciousness. Empirical theorists promoting either critical community practice or radical community development rarely discuss this power imbalance with the exception of Emejulu (2010) who establishes that radical community development practices often construct local people as passive in relation to more active community development professionals.

Community organising is also recognised as having radical features (Banks, 2011; Bunyan, 2012; Beck & Purcell, 2013, Popple, 1995; 2015; Taylor & Wilson, 2016). Community organising is defined as “... an approach to organisation building and social action developed in the US from the late 1930s onwards” (Beck & Purcell, 2013, p.1). In fact, community organising has roots in both the US and UK settlement house movements from 1880 to 1920, which was then developed by Saul Alinsky in Chicago in the late 1930s and 1940s (Brady, Schoenenman & Sawyer, 2014; Pyles, 2014). Organisation building in community organising focusses on establishing “organisations of organisations” (Beck & Purcell, 2013, p.1) made up of “... block clubs, associations, churches and labour unions, but could also include families and individuals” (ibid). The aim of building such ‘organisations of organisations’ is to generate power “...to allow (the community) to enter into negotiations with institutional decision-makers” (ibid). Freire (1990) is cited as an influence on community organising, with community organisers “... using ‘critical dialogue’ and reflective action (*praxis*) to raise critical awareness... and to explore the possibilities for radical change driven by community action” (Taylor, 2011a, p.161).

Both Alinskyan and Freirean methodologies of community organising place community organisers at the centre of community organising (Beck & Purcell, 2013; Pyles, 2014). In these contexts, once a particular grassroots issue is identified community organisers are brought in “... generally from outside the community, which gives them the space and objectivity to be able to initiate action” (Beck & Purcell, 2013, p.10). These community organisers ‘shake-up’ the patterns

of people's lives in these communities or institutions to "... agitate, create disenchantment and discontent with the current values, to produce, if not a passion for change, at least a passive, affirmative, non-challenging climate" (Alinsky, 1989, p.xxi-xxii). Through these processes local leaders are identified who "... engage small groups of people in conversations, get their ideas, enlist their support and feed all of that information back to the organisation" (Beck & Purcell, 2013, p.12). Tactics employed are conflict-based, to transform the status-quo in favour of particular groups. The global *Occupy* movement has operationalised community organising values and methods to assist in the transformation of the conditions of people's lives in favour of 'the 99%' (Beck & Purcell, 2013; Powell, 2013; Pyles, 2014). 'We are the 99%' is a slogan used by the *Occupy* movement to expose the 1% "global super rich" (Ledwith, 2016, p.165) who own the vast majority of the world's capital and have substantial political and economic influence (ibid; Iglesias, 2015).

Despite recognition in a number of arenas as one of the most radical community-based practices, community organising has also attracted criticism. Empirical theorists such as Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) have identified that local leaders "... are not always the best people to champion community interests... and [that they can be] unwilling to delegate aspects of their role to others or to hand over the reins altogether" (p.123). Others such as Emejulu (2010) have also identified that "... the 'people' as constructed in Alinskyism are passive objects clearly to be acted upon by an enlightened organiser" (p.68-69). These types of criticisms are also relevant to critical community practice and radical community development which 'empower' the critical community practitioner / radical community development worker to facilitate the growth of critical consciousness in misguided or passive local people. This suggests that community organising, critical community practice and radical community development may not be as 'bottom-up' and 'empowering' for local people as they claim to be.

Moving on, and in comparison, both neighbourhood work and neighbourhood management are considered reformist community-based practices that overlap with community development (Henderson & Thomas, 2013; Twelvetrees, 2008). Neighbourhood management is rarely discussed in academic literature despite its prevalence in social and public policy since 1999 in England (Taylor, 2000;

Twelvetrees, 2008). Neighbourhood management teams formed in local councils across England to manage:

“... the organisation, supervision and delivery of services, the enforcement of reasonable standards and conditions within clear agreed lines of control and accountability. Implicit within management responsibility lie the ability to make decisions and authority over identified and dedicated budgets to match these tasks.” (Power & Bergin, 1999, p.9)

Griggs & Roberts (2012) highlight that some councils in England devolve full service provision responsibility for community services on to these teams. Where this is the case, these have responsibility for policing and community safety, environmental services, housing and housing maintenance (ibid). These areas would often influence other service provision areas, i.e. policing and community safety would often overlap with youth work and community development provision to tackle anti-social behaviour (Deuchar & Ellis, 2013; McCarthy, 2014; Muncie, 2015; Pople, 2010). This “joining up” (Griggs & Roberts, 2012, p.200) of local services was rationalised under the auspices that it “... improve(d) services and quality of life” (ibid), and makes services “... more responsive to local needs” (ibid).

Theorists such as Taylor (2000) and Twelvetrees (2008) have called for more community development support within neighbourhood management “... if a solid foundation for community involvement is to be built” (Twelvetrees, 2008, p.210). Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) reinforce this to highlight that some community development workers working within local councils and neighbourhood management teams “... are managed by people who do not have a background in or a basic understanding of community development principles” (p.116). This suggests an incompatibility between the aims and objectives of neighbourhood management and community development. Conversely, neighbourhood work is defined as:

“... a job for which a range of explicit, hard skills are required in order to work effectively and sensitively with local people. Local people want the service and support of skilled professional practitioners, just as they want skilled midwives, skilled caretakers and skilled plumbers. It is important to convey the tangible, practical content of working with local people. ‘Neighbourhood work’ does this.” (Henderson & Thomas, 2013, p.2)

From this quote, neighbourhood work is defined through the skills and practices of the practitioners working under this banner. Henderson & Thomas (2013) add that these neighbourhood-based practitioners can include:

“... regeneration officers; planners and staff involved in cross-sectoral partnerships on economic, social and environmental programmes; managers, especially those with responsibility for community-based regeneration and community planning programmes.” (p.1)

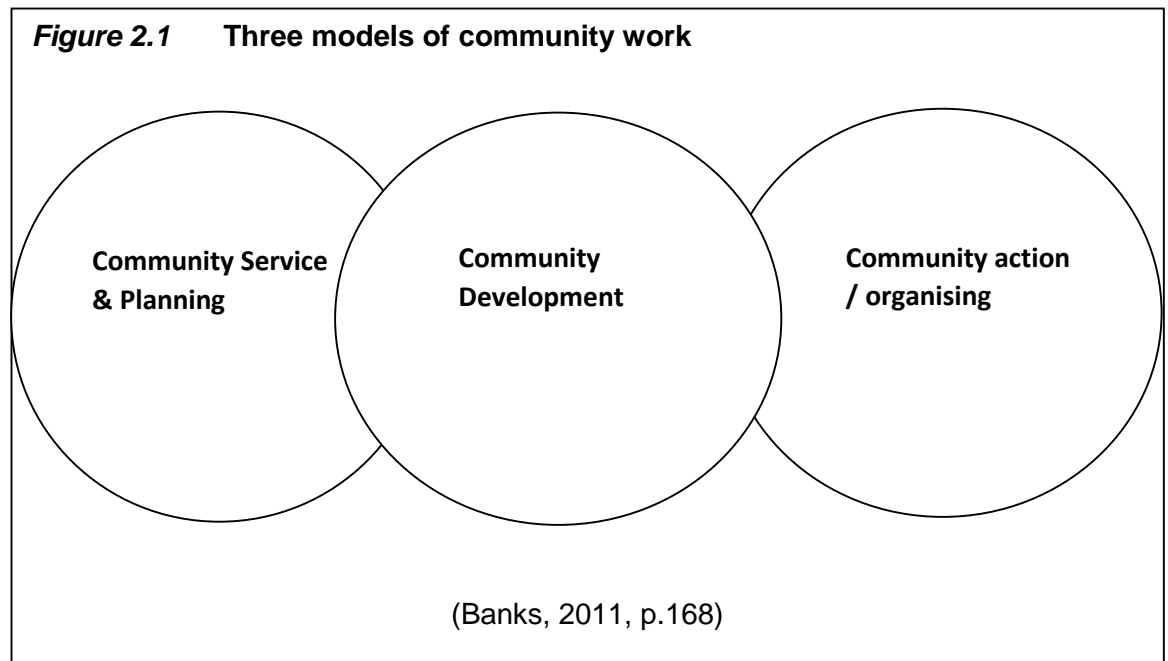
The practitioners involved in neighbourhood work demonstrate a substantial overlap between neighbourhood work and neighbourhood management, and community practice and community work. Additionally, neighbourhood work also adheres to community development national occupational standards (Henderson & Thomas, 2013). Nevertheless, the terminology of ‘community’ and ‘neighbourhood’ differentiates both neighbourhood work and neighbourhood management from community development, community work, community practice, critical community practice and community organising. Under neighbourhood work, neighbourhoods / communities of place are the intervention point in “... supporting groups which share a common interest or identity across a wider area occupies less of a worker’s time” (Henderson & Thomas, 2013, p.1). However, this section has demonstrated that this can be the case for all community-based practices. The emergence of neighbourhood work in the mid-1990s in relation to the rise of urban and neighbourhood regeneration schemes in England is briefly discussed in section 2.2.5.

2.2.3 Models of community development

Community development and its related practices can also be classified within competing models, which range from consensus-based reformism to conflict-based radicalism (Banks, 2011; Emejulu, 2010; Popple, 1995; 2015). Some argue that community development, as a model of practice, is actually a subset of both community work and community practice (Banks, 2011; Chanan & Miller, 2013; Popple, 1995; 2015). Popple (2015) identifies nine models of community work with community development classified only as one of these models, and states that

the role of the community worker operating within this model is a combination of an enabler, neighbourhood worker and facilitator.

Banks (2011) identifies three models of community work that share some overlap, which *figure 2.1* illustrates:



For Banks (2011), “... community development is at the centre of community work, and arguably is the dominant approach within community work as an occupation” (p.167). Like Popple (1995; 2015), Banks (2011) differentiates between the aims of each model: (i) **community service and planning** – to develop community-orientated policies, services and organisations; (ii) **community development** – to promote community self-help and citizen participation; and, (iii) **community action / community organising** – to campaign for community interest and policies.

There is further overlap between these models with Gilchrist & Taylor’s (2011; 2016) three models of community development: (i) fundamentally changing the way society operates; (ii) rebalancing the system to be fairer and more democratic, and (iii) making existing structures work more easily. For example, community service and planning overlaps with community development model iii, community development with community development model ii, and community action / community organising with community development model i. Once again, there is significant blurring between community work and community development. There is also blurring of community organising’s boundaries, i.e. Banks (2011) classifies

community organising as a radical model of community work whereas Gilchrist & Taylor (2011; 2016) consider community organising a radical approach to community development. This is disputed by US authors who claim that community organising can also be reformist as community organising models range from "... community building to economic development, service delivery, and conflict" (Fisher & Dimberg, 2016, p.100; Fisher & DeFilippis, 2015; Pyles, 2014). These developments typify the ambiguous nature of community development and its related practices, and the porous boundaries between them.

Banks (2011) outlines the different roles of the community worker operating under each model, with the enabler and educator available under the community development model. Both Banks (2011) and Popple (1995; 2015) agree that community development workers are enablers, i.e. help community members and groups to achieve their goals. This is shared by Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) who state that both community development workers and community workers "... are there to serve the interests of communities, and to help them gain greater influence over decisions that affect their lives" (p.12-13). Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) add that there is still an embedded debate within the community development field regarding how 'directive' community development workers should be, i.e. "... completely neutral, responding entirely to the community's expressed needs and aspirations" (p.13), or "... influenced by their own interests, capabilities, preferences and 'theories of change'" (ibid).

The role of the volunteer under the different models of community development and community work is also disputed. For Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) volunteers are a "... normal facet of community development" (p.82) as they are "... an essential part of the resource base for community groups" (ibid). But, Popple (1995; 2015) and Banks (2011) do not explicitly discuss volunteers in their models of community development and community work. Henderson & Thomas (2013) identify unpaid community workers in neighbourhood work as "... local people experienced in community action who take on the role of community workers" (p.2). Whereas Twelvetrees (2008) argues that it is the role of the paid community worker to facilitate and enable local people and unpaid community workers / volunteers. Once again, there is both convergence and divergence over the role (and whether

there is a role) for volunteers within community development and its related practices.

The **radical - reformist** binary re-emerges across these models of community development, community organising and community work, i.e. Banks' (2011) community service and planning model of community work is reformist and conservative, whereas the community organising model is more radical. Banks (2011) presents community development as incorporating elements of both models hence has the potential to be both reformist and radical (cf. Mayo, 2011). But Gilchrist & Taylor (2011) counter that the most prevalent model of community development practiced in the UK is neither purely radical or reformist, but a liberal pluralist model which aims to rebalance the system to be fairer and more democratic; as "... society is made up of an array of interest groups who organise collectively to compete for attention" (p.3). However, this liberal pluralist model has been criticised for failing to acknowledge the complexities of how "... dominant hegemonies structure the operation of power" (ibid, p.53); echoing Ledwith's (2005) call to arms that community development must "reclaim its radical agenda" (p.2)²¹.

This distinction between radical and reformist models of practice reverberates in Popple's (1995; 2015) work. Popple (1995) perceives pluralist models as reformist and makes a distinction between pluralist / reformist / conservative theoretical approaches to community work and those that are radical / socialist / Marxist²², explaining that "... these approaches reflect the evolution of community work from benevolent paternalism, on the one hand, and from collective community action, on the other" (p. 96). Popple, like Banks (2011), then concludes that collective community action / community organising is the most radical, and authentic, form of community work. Especially if that radicalism is influenced by the work of Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci:

"If community workers truly want to assist people to liberate and empower themselves, they can gain much from reading and reflecting upon the work of Freire and Gramsci. They are both inspirational in their message that change is possible if one is clear about one's goals and strategies. Gramsci offers a tenable macro-view of capitalist

²¹ See section 2.2.1.

²² Socialist and Marxist community development is discussed in section 2.2.5 in reference to the British Community Development Projects (CDPs).

relations. Freire provides a guide to practice that can assist in liberating those negatively affected by capitalism.” (Popple, 1995, p.102)

How Freire’s work has been incorporated into radical community development and critical community practice was discussed in previous sections. Antonio Gramsci was a politically active Marxist (1891-1937) whose key works (1971; 1985; 1988) were largely incorporated into radical community development theories and models of practice; particularly his concept of hegemony and understanding of social change (Ledwith, 2011; 2016; Popple, 2015). Gramsci adopts Marx & Engels’ (2002) concept of ideology as an instrument in class struggle but expands the role of critical education to facilitate revolutionary social change. Ledwith (2011) links Gramsci’s critical education to Freire’s conscientisation; and both together underpin radical community development. Gramsci (1971) defines hegemony as the imposition of a particular ideology from the ruling class on to the masses through the institutions of civil society²³. Through critical education and conscientisation within community development processes, people can begin to challenge these imposed ideologies and evaluate the influence of these on their lives (Freire, 1990; Gramsci, 1971; Ledwith, 2011).

2.2.4 The historical roots of community development

It is widely regarded that community development emerged in the UK in the 1950s when community development workers from the Asian, African and Caribbean colonies returned to Britain (Craig *et al*, 2011a; Craig, Popple & Shaw, 2008; Mayo, 2011). UK records suggest that community development in the UK precedes this (Banks, 2011; Craig *et al*, 2011b; du Sautoy, 2008; Mayo, 2008). A form of community development emerged in the mid-to-late 19th century in the UK as an interventional tool in cities full of ‘new’ urban working class communities who experienced considerable disadvantage and marginalisation (Popple, 1995; 2015). These interventions were sponsored and managed by faith-based bodies,

²³ Cohen & Arato (1994) state that civil society is defined in multiple ways and “... has an ambiguous status under liberal democracies” (pvii). How civil society is contrastingly defined from 2010 – 2015 in national policy debate is discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.4.2.

universities, charities and, to a lesser extent, the state (Hoggett, Mayo & Miller, 2009; Popple, 1995). At the turn of the 20th century, both the Conservative and Unionist (1895-1905) and Liberal (1905-1915) governments supported the growth of this interventionist tool by implementing "... a number of social and educational reforms which were intended to head off class conflict" (Gough, 1979; cited in Popple, 1995, p.9). This coincided with the development of the Charity Organisation Society (founded in 1869) "... committed to the rational application of charitable assistance to those it considered 'deserving'" (ibid, p.9). Thus, a distinction was made between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, and workers "... undertook a series of structured and supportive casework visits. This process was the commencement of what was to become known as social work" (ibid) to 'deserving' families. Therefore, British community development has historical roots in both charity and social work.

A second form of British community development was developed by ex-colonial community development workers in disadvantaged or marginalised communities within the colonies (Banks, 2011; Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Mayo, 2011). In the 1940s-50s, the British Colonial Office introduced educational programmes in the colonies that focussed "... on the promotion of self-help and participation in civic life on the part of residents in local neighbourhoods and groups of citizens with common interests or identities" (Banks, 2011, p.6), to ensure that "... 'backward' populations could be transformed through development and modernisation" (Newman & Clarke, 2016, p.33). These types of community development programmes emerged within the socio-political and economic context of violent and non-violent protests for independence that occurred during and post the Second World War (WW2) (Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Mayo, 2011). In such contexts, community development was used as a "pacifier" (Mayo, 2011, p.75) to enable pathways to independence and to bring the soon-to-be independent colonies "... in line with political, economic and social standards as established in the majority of democratic countries" (ibid). Thus, colonial community development was critiqued "... as much a means of controlling local populations as of liberating them" (Craig *et al.*, 2011a, p.3).

In the early 1950s, the United Nations²⁴ endorsed community development as "...a movement to promote better living from the whole community, with active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community" (UN, 1953; cited in Craig *et al.*, 2011a, p.3). However, in the late 1950s a UN evaluation team in India determined that social and economic divisions between the rich and poor had actually widened "... despite all the efforts of the community development teams" (Mayo, 2011, p.76). Additionally, community development was more widely critiqued both as a cheap attempt to resolve deep-rooted structural issues (ibid) and for further propagating colonialism²⁵ through the extraction of unpaid indigenous labour "... to build up the infrastructure for further economic development exploitation" (ibid, p.77). Thus, both the charity / social work and colonial forms of community development contain reformist, conservative and, arguably, problematic roots.

Tensions resulted when both forms first interacted in the UK as both social workers and colonial community development workers struggled to recognise their own occupations in the practices of the other (Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Mayo, 2011; Banks, 2011). Yet, an uneasy alliance was forged through a common project: that post-WW2 Britain was in need of urban and social development due to the war damaged cities and slums, and the boom in economic growth which resulted in increasing divisions between the rich and the poor (Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Mayo, 2011). Whereas the already existing social workers dealt with these issues through casework²⁶, the colonial community development workers desired to use their interventionist tools, i.e. the non-directive approach to group and community work (cf. Batten & Batten, 2011), to encourage self-help and grow local networks. These differing focal points eventually de-stabilised this alliance in the late 1960s (Craig *et al.*, 2011b).

Another de-stabilising influence was the professionalisation of social work by the Conservative government (1951-1964) and the incorporation of case work, group

²⁴ A global organisation initially constructed by the allies of WW2. Post-WW2 it developed a Charter devoted to fostering human rights, economic development, de-colonisation, health and education on a global scale (Craig *et al.*, 2011a)

²⁵ Ife (2016) defines colonialism as: "imposing a world view, a set of values and ideas about how things ought to work, an agenda for development, on a group, community or society" (p.185).

²⁶ Casework is the dominant method of social work, underpinned by the development of the individual and their relationship with significant others; including the individual's family (Sheedy, 2012).

work and community work as a three-fold approach to social work²⁷ (Craig *et al.*, 2011b). The Seebohm Report's (1968) recommendations that community work should have a key role in the delivery of social work services advanced this further. This propagated two further conflicts: (i) that community development was being re-branded as community work; and (ii) that community development / community work was being tacked-on, rather than incorporated, into social work practice (ibid; Popple, 1995). These conflicts reached their apex in the late 1960s with the Association of Community Workers (ACW) forming independently from the British Association of Social Workers (BASW), which finally split the tempestuous alliance (Craig *et al.*, 2011b). This was accompanied by two further developments: (i) the Gulbelkian reports of 1968 and 1973; and (ii) the establishment of the Young Volunteer Force Foundation (YVFF) in 1967. The Gulbelkian reports²⁸ endorsed community work as both a distinct professional practice and as part of the practice of related professions such as social work, teaching and public health (ibid). The YVFF, established in 1967 as a "... social work orientated voluntary service" (Craig *et al.*, 2011a, p.4), sent young volunteers to deprived communities throughout Britain. Feedback from this exercise suggested "... such social work-orientated voluntary service would not address the problems [local people] were facing on a sustainable basis" (ibid). This spurred the ACW to develop both community development and community work as a unique and integrated community-based practice in the UK (ibid; Loney, 1983). The YVFF became the Community Projects Foundation in 1977 and then the Community Development Foundation (CDF) in 1989 (Brindle, 2016). The CDF dismantled in 2016 (ibid).

This section has thus demonstrated that community development has historical roots both in social work and colonial community development, and plans were underway in the late 1960s to integrate community work and community development as a unique community-based practice within the UK.

²⁷ Influenced by Dame Eileen Young husband's 1959 report on training for social work.

²⁸ Also authored by Dame Eileen Younghusband.

2.2.5 *The political landscapes of community development*

Empirical theorists in the community development field emphasise that how community development is understood and practiced is significantly shaped by the political landscapes it is situated within (Emejulu, 2010; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011; Taylor, 2012). Three political landscapes have particularly shaped community development in the UK and have implications for post-2010 community development practices. These are: (i) 1945-1978: Keynesian economics and social democracy; (ii) 1979-1997: neoliberalism and the New Right; and (iii) 1998-2010: The 'Third Way' and communitarianism.

Post WW2, Clement Attlee's Labour administration (1945-1951) committed to social democracy through nationalisation and the formation of both the National Health System/Service (NHS) and the welfare state. At this time, social democracy was practiced as national governments having "... significant degrees of autonomy and political power... to modify the operation of market forces... and create greater equality in the distribution of income and life chances" (Pratt, 2006, p.27). During this time, community development was devoted to the 'social' problem of poor social housing conditions and rising health problems with the lower social classes that had developed post-WW2 and during the boom in economic growth (Craig *et al.*, 2011b). The community development field was also influenced by Keynesian economics which advocated that the economic depressions that the Global North had experienced in the first half of the 20th century were due to falling demand for manufactured products (Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Lynch, 2008). To raise this demand, the British state had to artificially boost the national economy by pouring its resources into the economy to keep employment as full as was possible so that citizens could then spend their excess earnings buying British goods and services. These developments resulted in the proliferation of public service workers in the UK (Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Lynch, 2008). As suggested the previous section, during this time community work and community development were reformist and state-funded practices committed to "... interventions to encourage community self-help and local support networks" (Goetschius, 1969; cited in Craig *et al.*, 2011b, p. 26).

By the end of the 1960s, it was apparent that commitment to 'full' employment, and the growth of both community work and community development, had not

fundamentally challenged inequality and poverty in Britain (CDP Interproject Editorial Team, 2011; Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Loney, 1983). The British economy had shifted from an industrial to a post-industrial economy where manufacturing industries had either shrunk or closed, and the service and finance industries had expanded (Lynch, 2008). Both social democracy and Keynesian economics hit turbulent waters in Britain; echoed in France in early 1968 where both students and workers protested violently against both the French Communist Party and the problems within left-orientated politics (Lynch, 2008; Popple, 2015; Torfing, 1999). Civil unrest followed in the UK, particularly following Conservative MP Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech which undermined the Labour government's immigration policies (Craig *et al.*, 2011b; Lynch, 2008; Popple, 2015).

To tackle the threat of disaffection and dissent, on May 1st 1968 UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson introduced a national Urban Programme to tackle both poverty and inequality. Elements of this national Urban Programme became the British Community Development Projects (CDPs) in 1969 (Loney, 1980; Shaw, 2003). The Home Office set up the CDPs, influenced by the US War on Poverty and the Canadian Just Society programmes launched in the mid-to-late 1960s (Craig *et al.*, 2011a; Newman & Clarke, 2016). All three programmes shared a particular conceptualisation of poverty:

"Poverty breeds poverty. A poor individual or family has a high possibility of staying poor... Poor parents cannot give their children the opportunities for better health and education needed to improve their lot... the cruel legacy for poverty is passed from generation to generation" (Economic Report to the President, 1964; cited in Loney, 1980, p. 4).

Twelve CDPs were set up to investigate the social problems of poverty in twelve deprived localities across Britain. Each project consisted of at least three local authority (council) community workers and three researchers at universities or polytechnics in those locales. There was also supplementary staff available, such as consultants, administrative workers, students, residents and volunteers (Greve, 1973). All the projects were funded for five years at a cost of £5 million (Green & Chapman, 1992).

The initial findings of all twelve CDPs "... challenged accounts of their areas based on social pathology. Poverty is seen to be a consequence of fundamental

inequalities in our present and economic system” (CDP, 1974; cited in Green & Chapman, 1992, p.244). These findings critiqued the Home Office’s social pathology explanations and their ‘rational’ model of policy making where “... impartial social researchers collect ‘the facts’ about ‘social problems’, then deliver their findings to governments who then enact appropriate policies to deal with them” (ibid, p. 246). For the CDPs, rational policies could not solve embedded structural problems in these communities that were rooted in the uneven nature of capitalist development (Kraushaar, 1982; Loney, 1980; 1983). Consequently, the North Tyneside, Newsham and Coventry CDPs altered their objectives to “... use community issues as a means of political education about the class nature of society and the economic roots of the problems encountered” (Kraushaur, 1982, p.71); putting them at odds with their respective local authority council partners:

“The ‘structural’ view offered by the CDP was in effect a Marxist perspective. CDP needed a theoretical apparatus so that it could get to grips with interpreting the social reality it was encountering with a view to changing it. This required a theory that could account for change – and Marxism (broadly defined) was seen as the best candidate then available ... The CDP perspectives and strategy have to be seen as a product of a specific political and historical period.” (Green & Chapman, 1992, p. 248)

This Marxist analysis is largely acknowledged as the ‘birth’ of radical community development in the UK (Cooke, 1996; Ledwith, 2005; 2011; 2016; Mayo, 2011). A Marxist analysis focusses on the unequal nature of capitalist development where privileged classes exploit the lower classes for their own economic gain (O’Byrne, 2011). Nevertheless, the CDPs had flaws. First, “... there was a tendency to deny significance to conflicts and inequalities within working class communities, unless they could be squeezed into a class analysis without fundamentally altering it” (Green & Chapman, 1992, p. 253), usually at the expense of an analysis of gender and ‘race’ (ibid). Second, it has been suggested that radical / Marxist community development could not sufficiently tackle the rising juggernaut of neoliberalism (Chanan & Miller, 2013; Emejulu, 2010; Geoghegan & Powell, 2009; Newman, 2014).

Neoliberalism as a concept is predominantly referred to as a political ideology that came to prominence in the UK and the US in the late 1970s (Craig *et al.*, 2011d; Garret, 2010; Lynch, 2008). Harvey (2005) challenges this by establishing that neoliberalism “... had long been lurking in the wings of public policy” (p.19-20) and

was implemented in Chile after Pinochet's 1973 coup that was backed by the US (ibid). Harvey (2005) stipulates:

“Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.” (p.2)

In contrast to social democracy, where the state's role is to constrain the free market where appropriate to ensure greater equity in standards of living and life chances across the nation state; under neoliberalism the state's main function is to enable the reign of the free market through “(d)eregulation, privatization and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision” (ibid, p.2-3). The state also supports neoliberal discourses through the rollout of social and public policies, such as “... ‘activating’ the unemployed (or ‘jobseekers’)... ‘social inclusion’ and ‘prevention’ in the area of Children’s Services” (Garret, 2010, p.344-345).

Newman (2014) critiques the academic focus on neoliberalism as political ideology only and, influenced by the post-structuralist work of Laclau & Mouffe (1985; 2001), claims that discourses of neoliberalism (such as responsibility, consumerism and participation) are part of hegemonic projects that seek to dominate and re-constitute the social²⁹. Emejulu's (2010) empirical study confirms this as a number of the discourses she reveals, i.e. the US discourses of Partnership and Revitalisation and UK discourses of Participation and Realism, have entrenched roots in neoliberalism³⁰. For Newman (2014), it is important to study neoliberalism as “... practices of de- and re- articulation of existing elements into new configurations, assemblages or constellations” (p.3293) in addition to political ideology.³¹

²⁹ See section 3.2.3 on the sixth tenet of Laclau & Mouffe's (2001) post-structuralist discourse theory.

³⁰ Emejulu (2010) established that all these discourses were embedded within neoliberal politics due to their shared outcomes to achieve the shrinking and privatising of the welfare state; although they adopted left-wing language such as partnership, empowerment, participation and social inclusion.

³¹ This thesis uses Laclau & Mouffe's (2001) post-structuralist discourse theory to determine which competing discourses of community development were available in England during the administration of the Coalition, and will establish if the dominant discourse available descends from the neoliberal political project, which seeks to re-articulate the social in a hegemonic fashion. Chapter three fully outlines how this thesis achieves this.

It is claimed that Margaret Thatcher's time in office (1979-1990) and her support for neoliberalism broke the UK post-WW2 'consensus' on Keynesian economics and social democracy as the dominant economic and political ideology (Harvey, 2005; Lynch, 2008). However, evidence suggests otherwise. Edward Heath's Conservative government (1970-1974) broke an element of this 'consensus' by discarding income policy where the government could impose "... a wage or salary freeze or interfere with pay settlements" (Lynch, 2008, p.94), and instead allowed free market negotiations between employers and workers (ibid). This particular concern was abandoned in 1972 however as inflation had risen to fifteen percent; and rose again in 1973 due to the international oil price rise which affected the prices of fuel and all oil-based products (ibid). Borrowing from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and cuts in public spending signalled an end to economic prosperity, and an increasing anti-statist sentiment grew within community development and community work where both became increasingly involved in campaigns against the state³² (Craig *et al.*, 2011d; Popple, 2015; Taylor, 1995). In response, the Labour government (1974-1979) attempted to rein in such workers by ceasing funding to the CDPs and funnelling community development and community work resources to towards supporting government employment programmes (Loney, 1983; Popple, 2015; Taylor, 2012). Tensions climaxed during the 1978/9 'winter of discontent' where public sector workers, including community workers and community development workers, undertook recurrent strike action over pay and conditions (Lynch, 2008). These actions ended with the election of Margaret Thatcher as prime minister in May 1979 (Taylor, 2012).

Thatcher declared that Keynesian high levels of government spending could no longer continue, that public services must be stripped back, and that "... civil servants and officials increasingly intruded into people's lives" (Lynch, 2008, p. 121). In response, Thatcher set out to enable the free market and trade. Community development was under duress as the Thatcher government was, in a sense, 'agreeing' with the CDP structural analysis that state intervention was ineffective and overly bureaucratic; therefore, economic change was necessary (Craig *et al.*, 2011b). Additionally, Thatcher advocated that public services³³

³² These included: against rent rises; addressing poor housing conditions; improved welfare provision, and against redevelopment (Craig *et al.*, 2011b).

³³ Including health care, education, social work, community development and community work.

should be provided by the private sector who, under neoliberalism, would deliver more relevant, targeted and less bureaucratic services (Craig *et al*, 2011d; Lynch, 2008). Thus, community workers and community development workers were in a precarious position as their 'service' was being dismantled as ineffective social democracy; but they were also the "... strategic carriers of the new social order" (Craig *et al.*, 2011d, p. 112) with communities positioned as a substitute for centralised service provision (*ibid*). Some community development workers made "... attempts to mobilise against the growing marketisation and its consequences" (*ibid*) as part of the CDP legacy by undertaking solidarity work between trade unions and working class communities (*ibid*). This was most apparent with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) where community development workers, working class men, women and more social democratic orientated local councillors organised themselves in opposition to the national pit closure programme of 1984/5 (*ibid*). These organised protests proved to be short-lived due to a series of legal and financial blocks that "... was the creation of an (sic) hegemony of resignation among the public at large: the perception that nothing could stand in the way of what was coming" (Miliband, 1994; cited in Craig *et al.*, 2011d, p. 113); i.e. the embedding of neoliberalism and the New Right.

Despite such developments, community work expanded throughout Thatcher's reign:

"A survey undertaken in 1983 of community workers in the United Kingdom indicated that 5,000 practitioners were employed at the time, compared with little more than 1,000 in the early 1970s (Francis *et al.* 1984). One commentator believes this increase was due to: many agencies re-designating jobs and adding the term 'community' to their titles..." (Pople, 2015, p.45)

In a trend that would continue through the 1990s, the 1980s witnessed an increasing governmental "push" (*ibid*) for both statutory and voluntary sector community work to become more involved in the community care "... of older people and people with disabilities while cutting expenditure on health and social services" (*ibid*; Stepney & Pople, 2008). Conversely, the number of community development workers in both the statutory and voluntary sector declined (Banks, 2011). These developments were challenged in some Labour-led local authorities with both community development workers and community workers working in local government in more 'generic' posts to re-shape local councils "... to serve the

interests of the working class” (Craig, 1989; cited in Taylor, 2012, p.19). Both community development workers and community workers also became more involved in anti-sexist and anti-racist work operating in both the statutory and the voluntary sector following the victories of feminism and the new social movements (Banks, 2011; Dominelli, 1988; 1990). From these developments, a **radical – reformist** binary emerges again, with community work more commonly classified, than community development, as a reformist practice that facilitated Thatcher’s public sector reform.

This embedding of neoliberalism continued during the administration of the Conservative John Major (1990-1997). Major consolidated Thatcher’s radical individualism by championing the independent and self-interested individual (Prior, Stewart & Walsh, 1995). Personal freedom defined the relationship between citizens and the state “... as individual interests took precedence over collective ones in the move towards the reduction of state involvement in the provision of public services” (Jochum, Pratten & Wilding, 2005, p.8; Ledwith, 1997). These moves achieved the re-branding of citizenship as consumerism where individual citizens engaged in their individual choices and their participation in the market place was “... their fundamental entitlement as citizens” (Prior, Stewart & Walsh, 1995, p. 15). This standpoint of citizens as good consumers peaked in 1991 with the release of the Citizens Charter; coining the term ‘active citizen’ where the state was “... relying on the voluntary efforts of more successful individuals to ameliorate some of the wrongs generated by the effects of the market, whilst sustaining a minimal interventionist role” (ibid, p.16). However, Parry, Moyser and Day (1992) appraised these ‘active citizens’ as an “established elite” (p.354) who were “... far from being social mirrors of the citizen population” (p.354) as they were more highly educated and had a higher socio-economic background than their more ‘passive’ peers (ibid).

The reshaping of both community development and community work intensified under Major as both were pulled in numerous, and often conflicting, directions. The co-option of ‘community’ and the skills of both community development workers and community workers intensified with the NHS Community Care Act (1990) to encourage greater diversity of service provision in the private and voluntary sectors (Pople, 2015; Stepney & Pople, 2008). Craig *et al.* (2011c) evaluate this evolving contract culture as the ‘roll-out’ of the “... new institutions

specifically constructed on neo-liberal principles” (p.194). Dominelli (1994) adds that this roll-back of community development and the subsequent roll-out of neoliberal public services increasingly pressured women to become unpaid community carers of family members.

This roll-out of ‘new’ public services resulted in community work, and community development to a lesser extent, being legitimated and partially professionalised by the state; with the Community Sector Coalition³⁴ arriving in 1994 (Taylor, 2012) and occupational standards for community work in 1995 (Banks, 2011). Another influence on both community development and community work was the international ‘successes’ of both the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and The World Bank’s participatory development and structural adjustment policies / programmes throughout the Global South in the 1990s (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; UNDP, 1993; Ziai, 2016). Both privileged the role of the market within development and strove to create active, entrepreneurial and self-reliant citizens that participate in private and public sector partnerships (UNDP, 1993; Ziai, 2016). These practices emerged within British community development and community work, creating “... a new set of social relationships between state, economy and civil society” (Dominelli, 1994, p. 2) and “... newer and lower expectations about what the state can deliver, and attempt to anticipate and control potential social unrest” (ibid). Terms such as ‘active citizens’, ‘empowerment’, ‘participation’ and ‘partnership’ were incorporated into community policy; but their meanings were far divorced from their social democratic origins (Jeffries, 1994; Lavalette, 2011). These new practices were visible in the Conservative government’s urban regeneration programmes, i.e. City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget³⁵ (MacLeavy, 2009; Taylor, 2012); and in the US where even radical community organising was “... repackaged and promoted... designed to work within the current system” (Brady, Schoenenman & Sawyer, 2014, p.38). Across both the UK and US, neoliberalism had embedded within community development and its related practices; leading “... to negative

³⁴ A network of community organisations working throughout the UK.

³⁵ City Challenge was introduced in 1991 as a new urban initiative to promote city-wide regeneration for 31 disadvantaged areas across 10 local authorities in England. These projects ended 1996-7. The Single Regeneration Budget was launched in April 1994 and brought together 20 programmes previously administered by 5 central government departments to encourage multi-sectoral partnership working that would ensure a streamlining of policy and greater co-ordination (Hastings, 1996; Tallon 2010).

consequences that have gone without adequate discussion or critique” (ibid; Jeffries, 1994; MacLeavy, 2009).

The rise of ‘New’ Labour (1994-1997) under the leadership of Tony Blair, and Blair’s subsequent election win in 1997, both altered and yet sustained the relationship between the state and community development established by previous administrations (Banks, 2011; MacLeavy, 2009; Taylor, 2012; Taylor & Wilson, 2016). This was due to Blair’s embrace of the ‘Third Way’ and communitarianism. Under Blair, New Labour advocated that they were neither politically left nor right, i.e. social democratic or neoliberal, but practiced an alternative ‘Third Way’ “... to transcend the dichotomy between the state and market... to reconnect them in policy” (Craig *et al.*, 2011c, p.194). According to British sociologist Anthony Giddens (1998), at this time Britain was experiencing unparalleled ‘new social conditions’ of a deepening post-industrial society shaped by globalisation; an exponential growth of knowledge and service economies; the advancement of information technology and telecommunications, and a marked decline in what could be regarded as ‘traditional’ social identities, i.e. the working class. Giddens (1998) developed the ‘Third Way’ to both renew social democratic values and make social democracy more effective to challenge the inequality and social exclusion pervasive under these ‘new’ social conditions. The concept of social exclusion is rooted in Max Weber’s ‘social closure’ where certain groups maintain and secure prestige at the expense of other groups (Giddens & Sutton, 2013; Lister, 2004; Parkin, 1979) and, from the 1970s, became widely used in France to define those who had slipped through the Bismarckian social insurance system, hence administratively excluded by the state (Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud, 2002). New Labour’s conceptualisation of social exclusion was shaped by the ‘Third Way’ and communitarianism and privileges participation in paid work as core to integrate the socially excluded back into society (ibid; Levitas, 1998; Lister, 2004). This commitment to social exclusion was evidenced with the arrival of the Social Exclusion Unit³⁶ in 1997.

Throughout the 1990s communitarianism became a “... major intellectual development within the United States” (Sites, 1998, p.57). US president Bill

³⁶ The Social Exclusion Unit’s report *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (1998) is discussed later in this section.

Clinton (1993-2001) adopted a communitarian agenda to help 'revitalise' US citizens' relationship with civil society (ibid). Communitarians assert that an unblinking focus on the individual and their immediate family has led to the gradual erosion of traditional and associational ties, including community spirit (Etzioni, 1993; Putnam, 2000). The communitarian model of citizenship emphasises a sense of belonging, group identity and group rights, and common good rather than the sole pursuit of individual 'choices' and rights (Jochum, Pratten & Wilding, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Sites, 1998). Resultantly, the Clinton government provoked a "... revivification of civil society" (Elshtain, 1995; cited in Sites, 1998, p. 57) through the "... rebuilding of the forms of community and association that necessarily undergird a democratic culture – from families, churches and neighbourhood groups to self-help movements and volunteer assistance organizations" (ibid).

Influenced by Clinton, New Labour would deliver a similar agenda, focused on democratic renewal through cross-sector partnership working and encouraging participation in civil society through active citizenship³⁷ (Chandler, 2000). New Labour also embraced the communitarian model of citizenship and Robert Putnam's (1996; 2000) thesis on social capital, which claimed that Americans had become increasingly disengaged from each other. Putnam (1995) defines social capital as: "features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (p.56). For Putnam (1995; 2000), an increase in social capital would lead to a more active community full of active citizens.

Putnam's (1995; 2000) thesis on social capital substantively influenced the British community development field (Craig, 2011; Fremeaux, 2005). Within the context of urban policy, regeneration and social development, state-funded community development – also referred to as 'community capacity building' during this timeframe³⁸ - was consumed with building up levels of social capital in deprived communities (cf. Taylor, 2000; Kay, 2006; Campbell *et al.*, 2008)³⁹. This included New Labour's flagship New Deal for Communities programme in England. This flagship programme began in 1998, proceeding the release of the Social Exclusion

³⁷ The formation of the Compact (1998) and the Active Communities Unit (2002) is discussed later in this section.

³⁸ As detailed in section 2.2.1.

³⁹ This was mirrored in international development through the United Nations and The World Bank's focus on social capital (Cleaver, 2001; Harriss & De Renzio, 1997; Ziai, 2016).

Unit's 1998 report⁴⁰ which underlined the necessity of bringing communities together through urban regeneration, neighbourhood renewal and creating local partnerships to combat social exclusion⁴¹ (MacLeavy, 2009; Taylor, 2012). New Deal for Communities had a £800 million budget and was managed by the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister and then the Department for Communities and Local Government in 2006. A total of 39 New Deal for Communities projects were set up in 1998/9 throughout England aiming to put local communities "... 'at the heart' of regeneration schemes" (ODPM, 2005; cited in MacLeavy, 2009, p.850) and formed a "new social contract" (ibid) between citizens and the state.

Banks (2011) claims that those active in both community development and community work took advantage of New Labour's focus on communities and neighbourhoods as the numbers of community development workers, community workers, neighbourhood workers and neighbourhood management workers⁴² increased throughout the New Labour administration; with the FCDL occupational standards for community development updated in 2001 and 2009. The community development field now contentiously claims that New Labour's normative understandings of social capital and communitarianism, especially within the New Deal for Communities programme, resulted in reformist community development being practiced, i.e. emphasising the need for social cohesion in communities rather than rebuilding community as a political process whereby its members "... initiate conflict in order to advance demands based on rights" (Sites, 1998, p.57; Banks, 2011; Ledwith, 2005; Powell & Geoghegan, 2006; Taylor, 2011d). Key theorists also argue that community development's adoption of popular New Labour policy terms – such as: participation, partnership, active citizenship and empowerment – further neoliberalised the community development field as these terms did not acknowledge the complexities of power and power relations in local communities (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Edwards, Goodwin & Woods, 2003; Kearns, 2003; Ledwith, 2011; Newman & Clarke, 2016). New Labour's active citizens, and community leaders in the New Deal for Communities, echoed the previous Conservative administration who were an 'established elite' within communities;

⁴⁰ *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*.

⁴¹ The Social Exclusion Unit (2004) define social exclusion as: "a combination of linked problems, such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown" (p.10).

⁴² For neighbourhood management see Clarke & Southern (2006) and Griggs & Roberts (2012).

defined as responsible, entrepreneurial and motivated by self-advancement (MacLeavy, 2009; Taylor, 2011c). This clashed with core community development values where "... community development workers are always positioned on the side and work in the interests of the marginalised" (Emejulu, 2010, p. 228).

To fulfil New Labour's public sector reform under communitarianism and the 'Third Way', a Partnership discourse established between the state, voluntary and private sectors. New Labour coined the term 'third sector' soon after their 1997 election win to fuse organisations and groups not affiliated with the state or the market as one sector to work in partnership, with the state and market, to deliver 'modernised' and 'bottom-up' public services (Kendall, 2000; Alcock, 2010c). In 1998, New Labour released the 'Compact' and "... a purposive stance towards a third sector *per se*... [became] mainstreamed into central government's public policy agenda, representing a major break from the past" (Kendall, 2000, p.2). Both the Compact and the formation of the Active Communities Unit in 2002 committed to third sector involvement in public service provision and community engagement through partnership working and formal voluntary action (ibid, Hale, 2013). This led to an increase in community development and community work roles in the third sector; including responsibility for volunteer recruitment and management (Billis, 2010; Fyfe, 2005; Fyfe, Timbrell & Smith, 2006). However, there are two recurrent criticisms against such developments: (i) the independent status of the third sector was compromised (Alcock, 2010b; Taylor, 2012); and (ii) third sector involvement in public sector reform was 'tokenistic', with central government dictating the direction of modernisation (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2012).

'New localism' appeared in policy debate in the early 2000s as an approach to public sector modernisation based on building community partnerships between the public, private and third sectors (Cochrane, 2003; Imrie & Raco, 2003; Ledwith, 2005), and "...a strategy aimed at devolving power and resources away from central control and towards front-line managers, local democratic structures and local consumers and communities" (Stoker, 2004, p.117). Yet, 'new localism' did not gain particular currency during the New Labour administration. This was also the case for community asset transfers, established in Cabinet Office

(2007)⁴³. This report stipulates that, under New Labour, by 2020 more public assets would be transferred into the hands of local people; leading to the growth of social enterprises and a more socially responsible corporate business sector (ibid). Cabinet Office (2008)⁴⁴ followed where managing or owning local assets was regarded as “... a very important way for people to instigate change in their local areas” (Cabinet Office, 2008, p.7).

Both reports promote a more asset-based approach to community development that developed in the US under Clinton’s communitarian agenda to ‘revitalise’ civil society (Kretzmann & McKnight, 2003; MacLeod & Emejulu, 2014; Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003). Asset-based community development mixes “... community planning, organizing and development into a single process... [and] identifies what is already present in the community, not what is problematic or absent” (Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003, p.188). It does this through conducting a community assets inventory to map primary, secondary and potential building blocks in a geographical community⁴⁵ (ibid). New Labour’s interest in developing asset-based community development in the UK was to assist the transference of secondary building blocks into the hands of the community (Cabinet Office, 2007; 2008). However, the New Labour government’s interest in, and development of, ‘new localism’ and asset-based community development stalled in the wake of the 2007/8 financial crisis (Colenutt, 2010)⁴⁶.

2.2.6 Problems embedded within the community development field

The dilemmas of defining community development unveil three embedded problems in the community development field. First, it is difficult to separate

⁴³ *Making Assets Work: The Quirk Review of community management and ownership of public assets* (2007).

⁴⁴ *Managing Risks in Asset Transfer: A Guide* (2008).

⁴⁵ Primary building blocks are assets located within the community and are primarily under community control, i.e. individual assets such as skills and networks. Secondary assets are also located in the community but are owned by outside organisations, i.e. local government and charities. Potential building blocks are resources outside the community and owned by outside organisations (Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003).

⁴⁶ How the Coalition programme built on some of these developments, and ignored others, is discussed in section 2.3.3.

community development from its related community-based practices, leading to porous boundaries and disagreements in the field as to where the limits of community development lie. Second, the embedded **radical –reformist** binary within both community development and its related practices where radical models and practices are typically *privileged* in relation to more reformist and, sometimes, pluralist models and practices. Third, the unequal power relationship between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development and its related practices, and that this is rarely problematised within the field. As sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5 demonstrated, these issues activate in conflicting ways within different historical and political landscapes. For example: (i) from 1979 to 1997 the boundaries between community development and community work were particularly blurred; (ii) the **radical – reformist** binary within community development was, arguably, most prevalent during the CDPs (1969-1976); and (iii) the power relationships between professionals, volunteers and local people began to shift considerably from 1997 with policy debate increasingly promoting (formalised) voluntary action in communities.

This historical overview also suggests that these embedded problems within the community development field have contributed to the ‘othering’ of community development – both within and out with the field - throughout all three presented socio-economic and political climates. In particular, this ‘othering’ emerges from debates surrounding whether community development could and should return to the community development practised in the ‘golden age’ of the CDPs (cf. Cooke, 1996; Ledwith, 2011; Loney, 1980; 1983; Popple, 1995). As detailed throughout this chapter, empirical theorists such as Miller & Ahmad (2011), Emejulu (2010) and Chanan & Miller (2013) have challenged such assertions by highlighting how the ‘radical’ CDPs replicated these embedded problems; and each author then suggests alternative models and practices of community development that, respectively, focus on: (i) the individual; (ii) feminist and radical democratic community development; and (iii) an integrated community practice. Arguably, this has led to factions of the community development field ‘othering’ community development practices that do not ‘fit’ with their own vision of community development. Consequently, it could be reasoned that such factions have ‘bought into’ the ‘othering’ of community development present in the wider policy debates during these timeframes; and have contributed to the fragmentation of the field.

The Coalition's socio-economic and political programme of public sector reform and austerity may have also exacerbated these problems; to which this chapter now turns.

2.3 The Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity

2.3.1 The 2007/8 financial crisis and global economic recession

The 2007/8 global financial crisis has been the subject of much academic and policy debate (cf. Ivashina & Scharfsen, 2008; Barrel & Davis, 2008). The corresponding global economic recession had a significant impact on the political and policy direction of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government⁴⁷ (Bailey & Ball, 2016; Blond, 2010; MacLeavy, 2011; Taylor-Gooby, 2011). This financial crisis originated in the banking sector due to two interrelated factors: (i) the collapse of the US, but also other Western countries', housing bubble which had exponentially grown due to the increasing proliferation of subprime mortgages; and (ii) national governments' deregulation of the financial sector resulting in increasingly risky financial speculation (Barrel & Davis, 2008; Ivashina & Scharfsen, 2008). Combined, both threatened the collapse of the world's largest financial institutions. These developments led to a global bailout and, in some cases, a nationalisation of such financial institutions to prevent a total stock market crash (Barrel & Davis, 2008; Ivashina & Scharfsen, 2008).

UK media debate on the origins of the financial crisis focussed on two 'failures' of the New Labour government: (i) to regulate the financial sector effectively, and (ii) to sustainably control the level of public sector spending in the years preceding the financial crisis (MacLeavy, 2011; Page, 2015; Taylor-Gooby, 2011; Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011; Walker & Walker, 2011). Academic debate challenged this by highlighting that UK public sector spending only increased in 2007/8 to bailout

⁴⁷ Section 2.3.2 discusses the formation of the Coalition government.

failing banks, provide investment capital and to cushion rising unemployment (Taylor-Gooby, 2011; Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011). Despite these contestations, a consensus remains that a significant portion of the blame for the financial crisis was New Labour's governance of the public sector (Gamble, 2010; Ross, 2012; Sullivan, 2012; Walker & Walker, 2011).

The 2007/8 crisis presented the Conservative Party an opportunity to argue that the New Labour government was unable to deliver on promises of economic prosperity and could not "promote an alternative economic vision" (Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011, p.12) in time for the 2010 general election. The Conservative's 2010 manifesto appealed that New Labour's 'excessive' public sector spending was 'crowding out' both civil society and the private sector (Conservative Party, 2010; Walker & Walker, 2011). Yet, as section 2.2.5 detailed, New Labour committed to partnership working between the statutory, private and the third sector; and this resulted in £12.8 billion of statutory sector income, in 2007/8 alone, awarded to the third sector through grants and contracts to deliver core public services (Wilding, 2011). Additionally, New Labour provided consistent financial support – approximately £2 billion per annum overall - to local governments to work with the private sector within Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) (Tyler, 2009; Wilding, 2011). Both partnership working and the RDAs were later critiqued by the Conservatives as top-down, interfering and overly bureaucratic (Cameron, 2010; Taylor, 2012; Tyler, 2009).

These developments highlight the necessity of effectively tackling national debt; which became a key debate between the three leading political parties in the lead-up to the 2010 general election.

2.3.2 The formation of the Coalition government (2010-2015)

The formation of Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government on May 12th 2010 followed the Conservatives winning the largest number of seats in the general election on May 7th, but not enough to form a majority government. They quickly entered into negotiations with the Liberal Democrats to form the Coalition

government (Robinson, 2010); with Conservative David Cameron emerging as Prime Minister; Liberal Democrat Nick Clegg as Deputy Prime Minister, and Conservative George Osborne as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Shortly before this formation, Cameron declared that there was "not a cigarette paper" (Robinson, 2010, np) between key policies of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats (ibid). 'Big Society' emerged from Conservative policy papers and speeches, including David Cameron's Hugo Young Memorial Lecture in November 2009, and the green papers: *Control Shift: Returning Power to Local Communities* (2009) and *Open Source Planning* (2010). While 'Big Society' was not used by the Liberal Democrats prior to the formation of the Coalition government, they did share with the Conservatives a commitment to devolution and localism (BBC News, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010d; Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011). Specifically, the Liberal Democrats were committed to enabling a "responsible" (MacLeavy, 2011, p.357) and "community" (Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011, p.11) politics; granting councils "... the financial and political capacity to determine priorities for their communities and ensure decisions are taken as close as possible to the people they affect, including a redistribution of powers from Westminster and quangos to accountable, decentralised government across the UK" (Liberal Democrats, 2007, p.1)⁴⁸. This echoed in the *Liberal Democrat Manifesto 2010*: "Liberal Democrats will transform politics. We want people to be empowered, knowing the chance to change things in their neighbourhood or in the country as a whole is in their hands" (Liberal Democrats, 2010a, np; Liberal Democrats, 2010b).

Unique to the Conservative Party was the progressive neoliberal Conservative (PNLC) agenda which aimed to replace individualistic neoliberalism with compassionate conservatism (Page, 2015). This was part of Cameron's electoral strategy to de-toxify the "nasty party" (Newman, 2014, p.3294) associated with Thatcherism (ibid). Regarding state welfare, this meant the Conservatives were "... not ideologically anti-collectivist but... supportive of those forms of intervention... deemed conducive to the common good" (Page, 2015, p.52). Compassionate conservatism is rooted in a libertarian theory of justice where

⁴⁸ This redistribution of power from quangos to communities was implemented during the administration of the Coalition. The CDF was one of a number of bodies to lose its strategic role and central government funding in 2010. In 2016 it closed its doors (cf. Levitt, 2015).

social justice is not based on egalitarianism but where “... people are entitled to the full fruits of their labour and to their assets, provided they have been obtained through *fair exchange*” (Burchardt, 2011, p.10; *emphasis added*). Yet, Corbett & Walker (2013) claim that the PNLC agenda is also rooted in 19th century conservative communitarianism which “... emphasises ‘organic solidarity’ in the form of voluntarism and ‘natural’ inequalities, and strongly opposes equality” (p.456). Thus, both strands underpinning the PNLC agenda reject an egalitarian and redistributive conceptualisation of equality and social justice.

Another key difference to the Liberal Democrats was the Conservative’s proposed deficit reduction strategy in their 2010 manifesto. The former “... proposed reducing the deficit during the lifetime of two parliaments, following the timescale envisaged as appropriate by the OECD” (Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011, p.4). The latter pledged to eliminate the deficit by 2014/5 through a range of strategies including austerity measures, welfare reform and public sector reform (ibid). It is to the latter that this chapter now turns.

2.3.3 *Public sector reform*

The Coalition quickly re-named the Office for the Third Sector as the Office for Civil Society, headed by Conservative Nick Hurd (Ricketts, 2010). This was an integral part of the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda - discussed in detail below - to legitimate claims that the public sector not just ‘crowds out’ the ‘third’ / voluntary and community sector (VCS) but also the private sector (Alcock, 2010a; Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Teasdale, 2012). The Coalition also claimed that public agencies taking a step back would also encourage “... community bodies and individuals to make their distinctive contributions and to take on more responsibility” (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b, p.7). As section 2.2.5 established, the turn to community as a solution to social problems is not new and is a recurrent theme within both the social democratic and, particularly, neoliberal political landscapes outlined. To the Coalition, community groups and citizens were key civil society players that the term ‘third sector’ did not adequately illustrate (Alcock, 2010a).

Central to Coalition public sector reform was increasing efficiencies in service provision of all three sectors of the economy; with efficiencies defined as “... measures that reduce costs without reducing front-line service provision” (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b, p.40). There was also a focus on all sectors, including citizens, working more collaboratively and holistically (ibid). Within this narrative, local government was bequeathed more responsibility to foster economic growth following the removal of a regional tier of governance with the closure of the RDAs⁴⁹ and the development of Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). LEPs are bodies formed, predominantly, between local councils and surrounding private sector enterprises to promote local economic development by offering incentives and expertise for business start-ups and expansion (Bentley & Pugalis, 2013; Cabinet Office, 2010d; 2015e; Tyler, 2009; Ward, 2015).

Academics maintain that these facets of the Coalition government’s public sector reform were part of an overarching agenda to further embed neoliberalism within the public sector; ultimately reducing the size and scope of the state (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b) by providing a “... much greater role for market systems for the private sector in service provision across the board” (Taylor-Gooby, 2015a, p.174). Local authorities have, largely, responded in two ways: (i) protecting frontline services “...by trying to deliver the majority of savings needed through efficiency measures and cuts in ‘back office’ functions and overheads such as premises” (Hastings *et al.*, 2015c, p.40); and (ii) protecting the services on which poorer groups are more reliant, i.e. social work, social care and financial advice / advocacy services (ibid). Both community development and community work are rarely acknowledged as an essential front-line service, thus susceptible to such re-structuring, private sector influence and, potentially, co-option (Banks *et al.*, 2016; Durham University, 2014; MacLeod & Emejulu, 2014; McEwan *et al.*, 2017).

The Conservative doctrine of PNLC⁵⁰ and its immersion within the Coalition programme was developed and implemented through social policy, legislation and nudge economics (Mabbett, 2012; 2013; Corbett, 2015; Page, 2015). Nudge economics derives from a libertarian critique of the state’s interventionist role in

⁴⁹ Nine RDAs were set up in 1999-2000 in England following the Regional Development Agencies Act 1998. The first stage involved the formation of regional assemblies that brought together councillors from across the region and key business and civil society stakeholders. All RDAs closed in March 2012 (Shaw & Tewdwr-Jones, 2016).

⁵⁰ Discussed in section 2.3.2.

citizens' lives and postulates that the state should instead "... steer people in directions that promote their welfare" (Thaler & Sunstein, 2003, p.179) by emphasising how citizens are 'empowered' through choice (ibid; Corbett & Walker, 2013). John *et al.* (2011) define nudge as "... about giving information and social cues so as to help people do positive things for themselves and society" (p.9). Developed in the US by economist Richard Thaler and legal scholar Cass Sunstein in the 2000s, nudge economics was quickly adopted by the Coalition as "... a great new innovation in policy, based on the finding of behavioural economics that we are inclined to accept defaults in relation to making difficult decisions rather than making active choices" (Mabbett, 2013, p.48). Mabbett (2013) uses automatic enrolment in private pension schemes as an example of nudge economics in action under the Coalition. Led by the Behavioural Insights Team⁵¹, nudge economics became embedded in both public sector and welfare reform legislation, i.e. the integrated benefits and tax credits system to 'encourage' paid employment and achieve cost reduction in the social security system (MacLeavy, 2011; Richardson, 2012). This system would become Universal Credit (Mabbett, 2013) which began its staged roll-out in 2013 (Cabinet Office, 2015f). It was speculated that individuals within jobless households were more likely to be nudged to accept conditions of underemployment than attempt to meet the proposed stricter conditions for financial support from Universal Credit (MacLeavy, 2011; Mabbett, 2013).

⁵¹ The Behavioural Insights Team was formed in 2010 by the Cabinet Office; became a mutual in 2013 and partially privatised in 2014 (Bennet, 2015; BBC News, 2014; Wintour, 2014).

Initially, 'Big Society' dominated Coalition public sector reform and was introduced early into policy debate as a solution to Britain's 'broken' society (Alcock, 2010a; 2015; Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010d; Cameron, 2010; Corbett & Walker, 2013; Tam, 2011). Its three core components are presented in *figure 2.2*:

Figure 2.2 Core components of 'Big Society'

1. Empowering communities by "... giving local councils and neighbourhoods more power to take decisions and shape their area" (Cabinet Office, 2010a, p.3);
2. Opening up public services by enabling charities, social enterprises, private companies and employee-owned cooperatives "... to compete to offer people high quality services" (ibid);
3. Promoting social action by "... encouraging and enabling people from all walks of life to play a more active part in society, and promoting more volunteering and philanthropy" (ibid).

(Cabinet Office, 2010a)

The first component of 'empowering' communities was developed through the localism strand of the 'Big Society' policy debate. The term 'localism' entered policy debate in December 2010 "...as more than a political slogan" (Cabinet Office, 2010c, p.1) aiming to decentralise power from central government to local government and, particularly, local communities (ibid; Davoudi & Madanipour, 2013; Hopkin & Atkinson, 2011; Sturzaker & Shaw, 2015). After intensive lobbying the Localism Bill received its royal assent in November 2011; passing as law in England and Wales as the Localism Act 2011 (Bentley & Pugalis, 2013; Locality, 2011; Sturzaker & Shaw, 2015). Evans, Marsh & Stoker (2013) define localism as:

"...an umbrella term which refers to the devolution of power and/or functions and/or resources away from central control and towards front-line managers, local democratic structures, local institutions and local communities, within an agreed framework of minimum standards." (p.405)

Gains to local councils through the Localism Act 2011 included: (i) the removal of some centralised red tape and bureaucratic procedures, i.e. the abolition of the Audit Commission and its performance framework; (ii) localising funding and extending the use of personal budgets for service users; and (iii) greater freedom

to design, organise and prioritise particular services (Bentley & Pugalís, 2013; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Sturzaker & Shaw, 2015). The Localism Act 2011 also bequeathed ‘new’ freedoms and powers to communities, the VCS and the private sector; particularly through the *Community Right to Challenge* (2011) and *Community Right to Bid (Assets of Community Value)* (2011) initiatives (Locality, 2011; My Community, 2012a; 2012b). Both initiatives have roots in New Labour’s ‘new localism’ and community asset transfers⁵²; and allow communities, the VCS and the private sector to “... take over public services, communities assets and influence planning and development” (My Community, 2012a, p.1); fulfilling the second component of ‘Big Society’⁵³. The Localism Act 2011 also introduced Neighbourhood Development Plans which “... form part of the statutory plan of the local planning authority” (Sturzaker & Shaw, 2015, p.589) but are produced by “...communities... residents, employees and business” (Cabinet Office, 2011b, p.15). Explicit references to asset-based community development, which accompanied New Labour’s interest in ‘new localism’⁵⁴, are not present in these documents however.

Demonstrated also in *figure 2.2*, ‘Big Society’ encourages social action; including the promotion of volunteering and philanthropy⁵⁵ (Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010e; 2011a; 2013b). To foster such social action, in 2011 the Coalition formed the Big Society Bank filled with over £200 million from dormant bank accounts and donations from high street banks (Big Lottery Fund, 2011; Corbett & Walker, 2013). These funds were also used to incentivise both public sector and VCS workers to form employee-owned mutuals and/or social enterprises through undertaking a community asset transfer (Corbett & Walker, 2013). According to Taylor-Gooby & Stoker (2011), these developments highlight “... a shift in responsibility for outcomes from state to citizens” (p.9). Hastings *et al.* (2015a)

⁵² See section 2.2.5.

⁵³ As figure 2.2 demonstrates.

⁵⁴ See section 2.2.5.

⁵⁵ Social action is analysed in detail in chapter four.

concur and stipulate that three forms of citizen responsabilisation were embedding within Coalition public sector reform. These are outlined in *figure 2.3*:

Figure 2.3 Three forms of citizen responsabilisation in public sector reform

1. A 'self-sufficiency' agenda that utilises 'nudge economics' in the development of "... generic call centre staff tooled with scripts to manage enquiries ranging from lost library books to impending homelessness" (Hastings et al., 2015a, p.613);
2. The promotion and development of community asset transfers (CATs);
3. 'Nudges' of civic responsibility for "... preventing and addressing adult care needs from services to communities" (ibid, p.614) and encouraging citizens to "take personal responsibility for supporting their neighbourhoods" (ibid), including street cleaning, green space and parks maintenance.

(Hastings et al., 2015a, p.613-614)

These claims corroborate the substantive role of nudge economics, community asset transfers and the promotion of community engagement and volunteering in not only the 'Big Society' policy agenda but also public sector reform as a whole. With regards to civic responsibility nudges, this is, in part, achieved through social action (Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011). For example, the National Citizen Service programme introduced early in the Coalition's administration encourages 16-17 year olds in England to become involved in, and in some cases initiate, social action projects in their local communities (Bradley, 2012; Dean, 2013; Stunell, 2010). To facilitate National Citizen Service and other social action programmes / projects within 'Big Society', academics highlight that the VCS needs increased resources to accommodate increased volunteer participation and to oversee the coordination and management of local volunteers (Baines, Hardill & Wilson, 2011; Bradley, 2012; Wilding, 2011). Rees, Macmillan & Buckingham (2015) suggest that enhanced links between the VCS and the private sector could achieve this and potentially encourage the sustainability and enterprise of the VCS. Policy released by the Department for Communities and Local Government under this timeframe proposed such developments as underway (Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010d; 2010g; 2011c; Wilding, 2011).

Public sector reform and 'Big Society' were also influenced by the Red Toryism championed by Red Tory think tank ResPublica and its creator Philip Blond

(Alcock, 2010a; Corbett & Walker, 2013; Woodhouse, 2013). Red Toryism is underpinned by the 19th century communitarian history within the Conservative Party. Blond's (2010) vision for public sector reform, and its role in the Coalition programme, is critically analysed in chapters four and six.

2.3.4 Austerity

The Coalition government's adoption of austerity as their overarching economic strategy has been subject to much discussion (cf. Hastings *et al.*, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013; Taylor-Gooby, 2012). MacLeavy (2011) states that austerity "... has now become shorthand for an increasing focus on frugality, self-sufficiency and fiscal prudence in contemporary economic and political life" (p.57). The Coalition government released their Emergency Budget in June 2010, and the Comprehensive Spending Review in September 2010. Both documents proposed "... the biggest single set of spending cuts since at least the Second World War - £81 billion of them" (Timmins, 2011, p.2); and that the spending cuts would be "... the largest sustained and deepest retrenchment in public spending since the 1920s" (Walker & Walker, 2011, p.54). Taylor-Gooby (2011) added that these developments set state spending "... on a downward course steeper than in any major European country, so that it falls below G7 levels and that of the US by 2014" (p.13); with the Coalition programme moving towards the US liberal model of market capitalism and welfare rather than the European social protectionist model (ibid, Taylor-Gooby, 2015b). £53 billion of these spending cuts targeted government departments and local government (Clayton, Donovan & Merchant, 2016). On November 3rd 2010 the Coalition government released Cabinet Office (2010g)⁵⁶ which outlined strategies for local councils to mitigate the effects of the public sector cuts on civil society organisations to 'protect' the implementation of public sector reform and 'Big Society'⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ *Better Together: Preparing for local spending cuts to the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector* (2010).

⁵⁷ This policy paper is analysed in chapter four.

Prior to the formation of the Coalition, an estimated 23% of the working population in England were public sector employees (Beckett, 2014). Local governments were badly hit by austerity; particularly in England where "... the 2010 Settlement resulted in a reduction of revenue grant of \$5.6 billion over the 4-year period of the review, [and] a cash cut of 28% which translates to a real terms⁵⁸ cut of 40%" (Hastings *et al.*, 2015a, p.601; Hastings *et al.*, 2012). The Department for Communities and Local Government was reported as the hardest-hit department (Hastings *et al.*, 2015a; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Wheeler, 2015) with estimates that, since 2010, it cut administrative costs by 40% and its staff numbers by 60% (Wheeler, 2015). In addition, the Department for Communities and Local Government's overall budget was slashed by 51% over the five-year span, with claims that each local authority in England made one-third to one-half of its public sector workers redundant (Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Wheeler, 2015). A substantial portion of these redundancies affected the public community development sector although this has not yet been accurately measured (Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013; Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Walker, 2015).

Local government cuts also slashed available funding to the VCS, resulting in unprecedented job losses for community development workers here despite the Coalition's commitment to 'empowering' this sector to help build stronger communities (Cameron, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010a; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013). It is estimated that redundancies in the VCS mirrored those in the public sector; and that public sector contracts were given to the VCS for 8-10% less due to the cuts (Woolley, 2015).

2.3.5 The north east of England

Cuts to local government were not evenly distributed across local authorities in England (Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Beatty & Fothergill, 2016). The cuts were also regarded as "... the ending of preferential treatment' for more

⁵⁸ Including the cost of inflation.

disadvantaged areas” (Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015, p.575). In the last few decades the north-east of England has experienced economic difficulties. The decline of manufacturing industries in England particularly impacted the north-east and resulted in long-term unemployment and health inequality trends in the region (Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES), 2014). The north-east has arguably not received sufficient economic investment, resulting in “... low wage, lower value industries and jobs” (ibid, p.4). Public sector employment is high in the NE and, pre-2010, it was estimated that 25-30% of all jobs were in the public sector; which is higher than any other region in England (Beckett, 2014; CLES, 2014). The unemployment rate in the north-east is also the highest of all regions and there are comparatively fewer jobs per 10 000 adults (Clayton, Donovan & Merchant, 2016; CLES, 2014). The levels of relative deprivation and child poverty here are also higher than the national average (Beckett, 2014; Proctor, 2015).

The northern, predominantly Labour-led, local authorities were the hardest hit by the cuts; with the most deprived in the north-east experiencing cuts up to six times as much as their southern counterparts (Beatty & Fothergill, 2016; Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Wilding, 2011). Additionally, the impact of the cuts on support groups for women in the north-east were more severe than other parts of England (Clayton, Donovan & Merchant, 2016; North East Women’s Network, 2013). A Joseph Rowntree Foundation report, released in March 2015, evaluates how Newcastle City Council responded to austerity. It claims that Newcastle City Council had an average of 5% cut in funding each year; with a 10% sustained budget gap per annum (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b). Despite these cuts, Newcastle City Council managed to save £84 million over the five years (Hastings *et al.*, 2015a). This came at a price however, with a 36% staff reduction and projected more to follow (ibid). Similarly, Redcar and Cleveland Borough Council reduced its senior management by 25% and cut a total of 750 posts by 2014 (CLES, 2014). Newcastle City Council services most affected by the cuts include: children’s services, Sure Start, youth services and libraries (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b, 2015; Woolley, 2015). Expectations abounded that citizens would ‘step-up’ and fill some of the gaps in these services, with increasing focus on developing community asset transfers and coproduction programmes with citizens, parish councils and the VCS (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b). To counteract this, Newcastle City Council did invest £60 million in an accelerated development zone in the city centre and £9

million in Local Economic Partnerships “... to support youth employment by more closely aligning its economic development agenda with education and skills training” (ibid, p.38). A similar strategy was adopted by Redcar & Cleveland Borough Council (CLES, 2014). Nonetheless, CLES (2014) claimed that this ‘strategy’ would not effectively tackle embedded and acute issues such as long-term unemployment, underemployment, rising levels of poverty and inflation, the social impact of a loss / reduction of benefits, and the crisis in social housing (ibid). Additional case studies on how the remaining local councils in the north-east have managed such cuts have yet to be undertaken.

The VCS in the north-east has also been badly hit. Research has suggested that a fifth of all VCS organisations in this region provide social and community services on behalf of government and “... there is an over-representation of charities working in economic and community development” (Clayton, Donovan & Merchant, 2016, p.778) here. In addition, VCS organisations in this region are reported to be more reliant on local and central government funding than other regions in England (ibid, Durham University, 2014; VONNE, 2014). The return of Northern Rock to the private sector, as Virgin Money, and the scaling back, and eventual closure, of the Northern Rock Foundation was regarded as a ‘double whammy’ to the VCS as both its top funders (the other being local government) were significantly squeezed (VONNE, 2014). In 2015, it was estimated that 25% of all VCS organisations in this region had no reserves left and were facing closure (Corbett, 2015); with 44% expecting to close a service each year due to funding shortages (ibid; VONNE, 2014). It was also reported that voluntary and community sector salaries have fallen by 3.4% since 2010, without accounting for inflation (VONNE, 2014). With the increase in demand for both statutory and VCS services, it has been suggested that both sectors faced a ‘perfect storm’ that appeared to be more a long-term reality than a short-term solution (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013; VONNE, 2014). The implications of these developments on one case study local authority in the north-east is analysed in detail in chapters five and six.

2.3.6 Criticisms of the Coalition programme

The Coalition programme has been extensively critiqued. Some argue it was unnecessary as local authority councils had already initiated restructuring and cutting costs prior to the formation of the Coalition (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013). Others state that the scale of the public spending 'crisis' was exaggerated (Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Walker & Walker, 2011); with criticisms of New Labour's management of the public sector viewed as a foil to enlist public support for the rollback of the welfare state and, subsequently, the continuation of neoliberal hegemony (cf. Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Walker, & Walker, 2011). The 'Big Society' aim to strengthen the VCS also came under fire with 90% of prime 'Big Society' contracts awarded solely to the private sector (Corbett, 2015). The Coalition programme's reliance on the private sector was also critiqued; with private sector employment regarded as increasingly precarious due to the proliferation of part-time, zero-hour and temporary 'Big Society' contracts (CLES, 2014; Corbett, 2015). The profit-making agenda of the private sector was also regarded as incompatible with public services such as adult social care and children's services as "... they do not seem to have the interests of the users at heart" (Williams, 2015, p.2). Philip Blond acknowledged such appraisals by stating that the Coalition abandoned their commitment to 'Big Society' due to their "... uncritical embrace of market solutions" (cited in Corbett, 2015, p.15).

The programme's responsibilisation of civil society and citizens was also evaluated as reliant on philanthropy and volunteering that was, typically, gendered as women were increasingly expected to take on family and neighbourly caring duties (MacLeavy, 2011; Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011). Women experienced a two-fold blow through the programme; with the public sector redundancies and the "... cuts to child benefit, Sure Start maternity benefit, Tax Credit, housing benefits and pension credit are borne disproportionately by women" (Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011, p.8). The programme has also been criticised for not providing enough protection for young people; with particularly high rates of youth unemployment that is "... likely to be extremely damaging... not only in the here and now, but also for their prospects of achieving social mobility" (Burchardt, 2011, p.9). Rising

university tuition fees, the withdrawal of housing benefit for under-25s and poor employment prospects have resulted in increasing numbers of young people going abroad for study⁵⁹ and work and potentially not returning; hypothetically exacerbating current 'crisis' trends in the UK in the future, such as the aging population and pension 'crises' (Dean, 2013; Dorling, 2011; MacDonald, 2016).

The programme was also attacked as dominated by austerity which is regarded as unsustainable (Beatty & Fothergill, 2016; CLES, 2014; Wilding, 2011). The rationale for the sheer scale of the public sector cuts under austerity was also questioned with evidence highlighting that incremental rather than radical change was successfully managed by (local authority) councils in the late 1970s and early 1980s under a similar climate (Hastings *et al.*, 2015a). To successfully achieve the goals of public sector reform, it has been counter-argued that councils needed more capacity rather than less (*ibid*; Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013). Britain has also, arguably, become more 'broken', not less, as a result of the Coalition programme, which has been labelled as "socially unjust" (Walker & Walker, 2011, p.56; Corbett, 2015). Relatedly, critics have panned the PNLC agenda adopted by the Coalition and its commitment to libertarian rather egalitarian and redistributive social justice; aptly demonstrated by the introduction of the 'Lobbying' (Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration) Act 2014 that leaves little scope for civil society organisations "... for campaigning on the underlying causes [of the 'crisis']" (Rees, Macmillan and Buckingham, 2015, p.118; Corbett & Walker, 2013). According to Dorling (2011), "(t)his is how you break a society" (p.17).

2.4 Community development and the Coalition government

The Coalition programme has important implications for the community development field. The programme advocated that communities, citizens and volunteers could, without community development support, utilise 'Big Society'

⁵⁹ Pre-Brexit.

policy and the Localism Act (2011) to create localised power structures, and directly obtain local government monetary support, to build ‘stronger’ and more ‘independent’ communities (Cabinet Office, 2010a; Cameron, 2010; Chanan & Miller, 2010). This marked a fundamental policy shift as under New Labour community development received considerable support with infrastructure investment (Taylor, 2012). Consequently, key voices in the field have suggested that the terrain of community development constricted and altered during the Coalition government’s time in office (Banks *et al.*, 2013a; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2011a).

As established in section 2.2.5, the community development field critiqued both New Labour’s Partnership discourse and Compact as dominated by central and local government agendas. The Coalition government appeared to be in agreement with such criticisms; with ‘Big Society’ and the Localism Act (2011) interpreted as a coherent response (cf. Chanan & Miller, 2013; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2012). As section 2.3.3 detailed, the rationale provided by the Coalition government to legitimate such policy developments was that central government needed to take a step back, allowing both communities and civil society organisations to take a step forward without the same extent of red tape or restrictions of central government under the New Labour administration.

There was some support for ‘Big Society’ and localism from the community development field, especially for community asset transfers and their ‘real’ empowerment of local people (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2012). This was accompanied by trepidation. Some noted that the term ‘community development’ was seldom mentioned in national policy debate since the formation of the Coalition government (Banks *et al.*, 2013a; Banks & Butcher, 2013; Chanan & Miller, 2013; Taylor, 2012). Related terms such as ‘social action’, ‘community organising’, ‘volunteering’, ‘philanthropy’ and ‘social enterprise’ – prevalent under the overarching the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda – appeared to be supplanting the terrain that was once covered by community development (Bunyan, 2012; Dean, 2013; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Taylor, 2011a; 2012). There was a perceived danger with community asset transfers that, without community development support, local communities could experience “... a form of elite pluralism”

(Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p.23) where community elites⁶⁰ would be ‘empowered’ to control more community resources under localism (ibid; Clayton, Donovan & Merchant, 2016; Pattie & Johnston, 2011). Historically it has been the community development worker who has tackled such community elites by, arguably, facilitating the ‘empowerment’ and participation of more socially excluded groups to achieve social justice for all (Emejulu, 2010; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011; Ledwith, 2005; Mayo, 2011).

It is important to reiterate that the community development field was already fragmented prior to this programme. This was arguably exacerbated with the Coalition’s endorsement of community organising and the Community Organisers Programme. The Community Organisers Programme was a nationwide pilot funded by the Office for Civil Society from 2011 to 2015 with a £20 million budget (Bunyan, 2012; Cabinet Office, 2013b; Fisher & Dimberg, 2016; Reynolds & Grimshaw, 2015; Taylor, 2011a; Wiggins, 2011). This programme utilised a hybrid community organising methodology underpinned by the work of Saul Alinsky, Paulo Freire, Edward Chambers and Clodomir Santos de Moraes “... as well as the long traditions of English radicalism and community self-help” (Locality, 2010, p.2). Its overarching role from 2011-2015 was to support the delivery of ‘Big Society’ and localism by working directly with local people to help raise local community spirit; encourage local community action; promote indigenous leadership in local communities; create new, locally-run, community groups and social enterprises; and inspire democratic and social change (ibid; Reynolds & Grimshaw, 2015).

On February 19th 2011, the Coalition government announced that Locality - a leading network of development trusts, community enterprises, settlements and social action centres in England – had been contracted to develop and lead the Community Organisers Programme to train 5000 community organisers (500 full-time core community organisers and 4500 part-time volunteer community organisers) from 2011 to 2016 (Bunyan, 2012). Locality worked in partnership with RE:generate – a national charitable trust dedicated to relieving poverty by encouraging accountable leadership and entrepreneurship in communities – to deliver a 51 week long training programme that would produce trained community organisers who had met a number of targets. *Figure 2.4* lists these:

⁶⁰ Including community leaders and more active citizens – see section 2.2.5.

Figure 2.4 Key targets of Community Organisers Programme training year

1. Undertaking 500 successful door-knockings and listenings in their local area ('patch');
2. Recruiting and training around 10 volunteer community organisers (VCOs);
3. Supporting the development of fledgling projects and identify 3-5 that can be supported by the VCOs and other networks that have been built up;
4. Supporting the development of a Community Holding Team (CHT) which is a network of VCOs and engaged local people who will keep the legacy of the Community Organisers Programme alive by working together to promote democratic and social change in their local areas

(Reynolds & Grimshaw, 2015).

The Community Organisers Programme has endured both praise and criticism from the community development field. Praise for the programme comes from its commitment to a Freirean-based community development model and the blending of this with "... a community organising approach that has a hard edge of political engagement if local people were to be heard effectively by the powerful" (Mayo, Mendiwelo-Bendek & Packham, 2012, p.192). Critics, however, target the Community Organising Programme's utilisation of the theories and methods of Freire, Alinsky and Santos de Morais as 'tokenistic'; and postulate that Locality was deliberately using radical theorists and language to smokescreen essentially reformist and, arguably, dangerous community-based practices (Bunyan, 2012; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Little, 2011; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012). It was also suggested that the outcomes of the Community Organisers Programme would have been substantially different, and much more 'radical', if Citizens UK (*nee* London Citizens) had been awarded the contract instead of Locality (Bunyan, 2012; Taylor, 2011a; Taylor, 2012); with this programme thus operating within the "moderate middle" (Fisher & Dimberg, 2016, p.100) of community organising models and practices (*ibid*; Bunyan, 2012).

Alinskyan community organising was first introduced in the UK by Citizens UK in 1996 when its founder returned from the US to the UK after training with the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) whose methods were rooted within Alinskyan CO (Citizens UK, 2016). The activities of Citizens UK were largely confined to the London area, with additional chapters rolled out in Birmingham, Leeds, Milton

Keynes, Wales and Nottingham (ibid; Taylor, 2012). During the 2010 general election campaign Citizens UK gained increasing media coverage as all three main political party leaders - David Cameron, Gordon Brown and Nick Clegg - agreed to work with Citizens UK on a number of key issues if they were elected (Bunyan, 2012). The community organising approach taken by Citizens UK "... is to challenge powerholders and seek to hold them to account", and has been credited as being "... able to mobilise hundreds of people" (Beck & Purcell, 2013, p.4).

The Community Organisers Programme has implications for community development. Firstly, the resources available to community development were depleting under the Coalition government administration⁶¹. This was potentially exacerbated with the promotion of, and increased resources to, the Community Organisers Programme. Secondly, the tentative links drawn between community development and the Community Organisers Programme, i.e. that the programme has some roots in Freirean community development (Mayo, Mendiwelso-Bendek & Packham, 2012), were not widely established in the policy debate; suggesting that the Community Organisers Programme was being positioned as an alternative to community development. Tentative links between the programme and asset-based community development were also made (cf. Fisher & Dimberg, 2016), but these links were not made explicitly clear in national policy debate from 2010-2015⁶². As previously stated, community development was also increasingly conflated with the terms 'volunteering', 'social action' and, to a lesser extent, 'philanthropy'. From these developments, I would suggest that the Coalition government was exploiting the ambiguity of community development, especially its overlap with other community-based practices, to fulfil a particular agenda⁶³; including a commitment to neoliberal hegemony. The Community Organisers Programme also triggers the **radical – reformist** binary embedded in the field as both the academic praise and critique for this programme largely centred on whether it was radical or reformist. With the community development field consumed by this debate and the development of the Community Organisers Programme in England, community development was, arguably, side-lined from focus as a result⁶⁴.

⁶¹ As sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.5 presented.

⁶² Chapters four, five and six explore this.

⁶³ What this particular agenda could be is explored in detail in chapters four, five and six.

⁶⁴ This is explored in detail in chapters four, five and six.

The third embedded issue within the community development field – a power imbalance between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes - also appeared to be present within the Coalition programme as front-line community development workers, in both the statutory and voluntary sector, were targeted by public sector cuts⁶⁵. The Coalition programme's emphasis on social action and volunteers indicates two things: (i) that volunteers could be nudged to take on professional responsibilities due to community development redundancies; and (ii) local people could be nudged to volunteer to keep community development processes afloat in austere times. These developments could create new, and exacerbate old, power imbalances between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes⁶⁶.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter reveals that community development in England was under duress and vulnerable to re-shaping under the Coalition's programme of public sector reform and austerity. Also, it establishes that this programme was influenced by the aftermath of the 2007/8 financial crisis where 'excessive' public spending and bureaucracy under New Labour were claimed to have 'broken' Britain. The Coalition government thus committed to a public sector reform that offered citizens, communities, the VCS and the private sector more opportunities to run public services minus red tape. This reform also included supporting and developing social action projects, i.e. the Community Organisers Programme and National Citizens Service.

This chapter also shows that the Coalition government's loyalty to austerity undermined this public sector reform. The Department for Communities and Local Government was badly hit by austerity as its budget halved from 2010 to 2015 (Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Wheeler, 2015), affecting funding available to

⁶⁵ This was explored in sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4

⁶⁶ Chapters four, five and, especially, six present whether this is the case.

local government and the VCS. This subverted the Coalition government's claim that they were 'empowering' both. These cuts were particularly acute in the north-east of England, with councils here experiencing cuts up to six times greater than their southern counterparts (Beatty & Fothergill, 2016; Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Wilding, 2011). By 2015, it was estimated that a quarter of all VCS organisations in the region had no reserves or were facing closure (Corbett, 2015).

Consequently, key voices within the community development field claim that community development practice had constricted and altered during this timeframe; with community organising, volunteering and social action allegedly 'rolled-out' in its place. But, community development was already under duress and fragmented before the introduction of the Coalition programme. This chapter highlighted there are three problems within the field, as summarised in *figure 2.5*:

Figure 2.5 Three embedded problems in the community development field

1. The difficulty in separating community development from its related community-based practices; leading to porous boundaries and disagreements within the community development field as to where the limits of community development lie;
2. An embedded **radical - reformist** binary within community development and its related community-based practices where radical models or practices are typically *privileged* in relation to more reformist, and pluralist, models and practices;
3. The unequal power relationship between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development and its related community-based practices; and that this is rarely problematised in the community development field.

An examination of the historical roots and political landscapes that community development has evolved within suggests that these problems can be alleviated or exacerbated; depending on which overarching socio-economic and political landscape community development is situated. This chapter proposes that these problems were aggravated during the administration of the Coalition government; primarily due to this government seemingly ignoring community development and endorsing 'alternative' social action programmes and localism instead. With the community development field focussed on these alternatives⁶⁷, an analysis of what happened to community development under the Coalition administration has been side-lined as a result; including an analysis of how they exploited the ambiguity of community development to fulfil their own agenda. Such analysis has implications for the future of community development in England, which has not yet been investigated. The remainder of this thesis addresses this gap by employing a PDA methodology to detail what happened to community development in England during the Coalition administration. This includes an analysis of one local authority in the north-east of England, as a single-case study, to illustrate how national policy debate influenced local community development policy and practice. The next chapter describes how I used a PDA methodology to fulfil the aim, objectives and questions of this investigation.

⁶⁷ Especially the development of the Community Organisers Programme, whether this programme has radical or reformist roots, and whether community asset transfers can reproduce more authentic 'empowerment'.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework of this thesis, post-structuralist discourse theory (PDT); how this theoretical framework was adapted as an analytical framework through a method of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA), and how both have been incorporated into a detailed PDA methodology. Section 3.2 discusses the development of discourse theory; provides a rationale as to why post-structuralist discourse theory (PDT) was adopted; presents its central tenets, and introduces its relationship to PDA. Section 3.3 provides an overview of Hansen's (2006) PDA; outlines its key stages, and builds upon these stages by combining this particular method of PDA with PDT. This section also provides a working example of how these methods were combined. The choice of Hansen's (2006) *one moment* research design as the overarching methodological framework is detailed in section 3.4. Section 3.5 provides a rationale for the choice of texts under each intertextual model that were adopted for analysis; the research methods that were undertaken with key social actors involved in community development projects based in a case study local authority district in the north east of England; and the ethical issues connected with undertaking such research methods. Finally, section 3.6 reflects on potential issues utilising a PDA methodology; including a discussion on researcher reflexivity, positionality, credibility, authenticity and trustworthiness.

3.2 Theoretical Framework: Post-structuralist Discourse Theory

3.2.1 Introduction

This thesis reconceptualises the community development field in England as a discursive field of knowledge where competing discourses 'fight' for dominance

and hegemonic articulation. To do this, this thesis adopts a theoretical framework which places discourse as its central analytic concept, and operationalises a particular understanding of discourse to determine how competing discourses are constituted and reproduced in relation to each other. Adopting discourse theory as a theoretical framework fulfils these criteria. There are three generations of discourse theory used in the social sciences. The following section demonstrates why third generation discourse theory – more commonly known as PDT – was adopted over first and second generation discourse theory as the theoretical framework of this thesis. The relationship between different generations of discourse theory and discourse analysis is also discussed.

3.2.2 Three generations of discourse theory

First generation discourse theory defines discourse “... in the narrow linguistic sense of a textual unit that is larger than a sentence, and focusses on the semantic aspects of spoken or written text” (Torring, 2005, p.6). In other words, discourse is language *per se*. Discourse is also defined as a communal exchange between individuals. Discourse is therefore a social and cultural resource that individuals draw upon due to language’s transmission of life “as it is” (Morgan, 2010, p.3). It is from this generation of discourse theory that conversation analysis (CA) initially developed which is contemporaneously used in the discipline of psychology. In discourse analysis debates today, CA represents a more objectivist, technical, realist or positivist - rather than interpretivist or relativist - approach to discourse analysis that is inductive and data-driven with the goal “... to find patterns within language (the text) and solely but absolutely describe what is there” (Morgan, 2010, p. 2). CA also focusses on the individual speaker’s use of language and the rules of conversation, i.e. turn taking, choice of topics, sequential positioning, overlaps and interruptions.

First generation discourse theory and CA were not chosen as the theoretical and analytical framework for this thesis. First generation discourse theory’s limited conceptualisation of discourse as talk only is incompatible with the research

objectives of this thesis as I am interested in the discourses and subject positions that are constituted and (re)produced across a selected sample of texts, which include policies, strategies, academic debate *and* grassroots interviews. Thus, first generation discourse theory and CA are not suitable for adoption in this thesis. Second, this thesis adopts a more *political* conceptualisation of discourse in which its formation is “... an act of radical institution, which involves the construction of antagonisms and the drawing of political frontiers between insiders and outsiders” (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, p.4). This is incompatible with first generation discourse theory’s definition of discourse.

Third, the research aim and objectives of this thesis concern how the language and social practices of community development are constructed and (re)produced throughout the administration of the Coalition government (2010-2015). Therefore, both first generation discourse theory’s and CA’s dedication to how social organisation is accomplished within decontextualised slices of talk is incompatible with this thesis. Finally, first generation discourse theory is predominantly rooted in positivist theoretical traditions within the social sciences, which make objectivist and value-free claims to truth, which is also incompatible with this thesis’ focus on the discursive construction of knowledge and identity formations where both objective reality and truth are highly questioned. As discussed in section 3.6.2, my identity as a researcher, community development practitioner and volunteer brings with it a particular perspective and history, which can elicit a deeper analysis of the data. This is discordant with CA.

Second generation discourse theory responded to two critiques of first generation discourse theory. First, that it had underdeveloped links to economics, culture and politics (Morgan, 2010). Second, that its direct offshoot of conversation analysis side-stepped analyses of social agendas in favour of a “sociological neutrality” (Baxter, 2002, p.831) to encourage objectivity. Second generation discourse theory – initially developed by Norman Fairclough – aimed to tackle ideology and power in its definition of discourse and in its development of discourse theory; and also to incorporate these developments into the structure of its discourse analytical tools. Fairclough (1989; 1992; 2003) developed the concept of discourse to not solely be restricted to spoken and written language, but to incorporate a much wider set of social practices; including how the ideological shaping of language

texts contributes to reproducing power relations. Fairclough's definition of discourse was principally influenced by the earlier works of Michel Foucault, especially *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/1974/2002), where discourse did not only represent social entities and relations, but actually constituted them. It is Fairclough's (2007) interpretation of how Foucault's discursive practices form subjects and objects that is the basis of critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) emerged in the early 1990s and is characterised by "... de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.3; *original emphasis*). Critical discourse analysts are typically aligned with an emancipatory epistemology to work on the 'behalf' of dominated and oppressed social groups by challenging dominant ideologies and power relations that are expressed through language (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Baker & Ellege, 2011). Resultantly, CDA dissects the structure of language itself which is seen to perpetuate the domination of elites within different societies and assures the complicity of marginalised groups in the dominant practices of the elite. CDA has considerable status in the social sciences and has been widely adopted in the disciplines and fields of psychology, linguistics, anthropology, sociology, politics and social policy (Billig, 1999; Baxter, 2002; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Second generation discourse theory and CDA were not adopted as the theoretical and analytical framework of this thesis for two reasons. First, second generation discourse theory's emphasis on the centrality of discursive practices over non-discursive practices asserts that discourse operates in a dialectical fashion where "... the discursive event is shaped by, and therefore reconstructs, 'real' or 'material' events, situations, institutions and social structures" (Baxter, 2002, p.830). Therefore, second generation discourse theory privileges an objective reality over a discursively constructed one, which is incompatible with this thesis due to its re-conceptualisation of community development as a discursive field of knowledge. Next, second generation discourse theorists and critical discourse analysts both un-problematically assume that by aligning themselves with emancipatory critiques they are 'objectively' dissociated from such dominant practices and operate outside of such discursive fields (Hewitt, 2009). These claims are incompatible with the research objectives of this thesis as both emancipatory-based practices and 'objective' research can also reproduce

problematic discourses and subject positions for social actors to adopt (Breeze, 2011). This is illustrated in core binaries that are un-problematically replicated throughout second generation discourse theory and critical discourse analysis, i.e. **us – them, perpetrators – victims, powerful – powerless and professionals – local people** (Lazar, 2007); which the research objectives and questions of this thesis actively deconstruct.

Third generation discourse theory's definition of discourse encompasses all social phenomena, i.e. discourse is not a particular part of the social but is synonymous with the social. This view is primarily influenced by Jacques Derrida (1978; 1997) who declared there is no transcendental centre which is the over-arching structure of all structures. Therefore, there is no central production point of discourse, nor a centre to which social identities are fixed. For Derrida (1978), once the idea of an underlying essence that is given in and by itself is abandoned, social meaning and social identities are no longer fixed and only become "... partially fixed in and through discourse" (Torring, 2005, p. 8). Both Foucault and Derrida critiqued modernist conceptions of human subjectivity as being fixed to the Cartesian-Kantian 'rational' subject (Sarup, 1993). Foucault (1991; 1998) instead argued that subjects are created through both discursive and non-discursive practices as they become the object of dominant discourses that permeate through different societies and cultures.

This emphasis on non-discursive practices, i.e. "institutions, political events, economic practices and processes" (Foucault, 2002, p.162), as being constituted by the same rules that govern the production of discursive practices is characteristic of Foucault's later work and separates third generation from second generation discourse theory. Third generation discourse theory also adopts Derrida's concepts of *deconstruction* and *differance*. Deconstruction is a critique of the structuralist theories of both Claude Levi-Strauss (1908-2009) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). Levi-Strauss (1964) famously claimed that "... if we dig deep through culture, we can find universal laws (structured by binary oppositions) governing the human mind" (cited in Elliot, 2009, p.64). For structuralists like Levi-Strauss and Saussure, Western metaphysics is rooted in binary oppositions which are related terms or concepts that are opposite in meaning, i.e. **nature - culture, white - black, man - woman**; and that these terms define each other in a mutually

reciprocal relationship. Levi-Strauss (1964) believed these binaries underpin human philosophy, language and culture. Derrida (1997) undermined Levi-Strauss' understanding of the nature of the binary opposition relationship by countering that there were very few mutually reciprocal and neutral binary oppositions, and there is always an imbalance of power between the poles of a binary opposition where one term is *marked* and the other *unmarked*, or *privileged*, where "... the unmarked form is typically dominant and therefore seems to be 'neutral', 'normal' and 'natural'" (Chandler, 2007, p.4). For Derrida (1997), unmarked terms were seen as superior, and *privileged*, to *marked* terms and that the majority of all binary oppositions / pairs had a relationship characterised by a fundamental antagonism with one term being superior at the other term's expense. Derrida (1997) did not seek to reverse the hierarchies implied in binary pairs, i.e. to make 'evil' favoured over 'good', 'Other' over 'Self' or 'feminine' over 'masculine'. Instead, deconstruction seeks to erase the boundaries and frontiers between each binary pair, hence to show that the values and order implied by the opposition are that each term, rather than being polar opposite of its paired term, is actually part of it. Consequently, deconstruction shows us how its basic units of structuration (binary oppositions and the rules for their combination) contradict their own logic.

Differance also critiques the structuralist legacy, especially Saussurean structural linguistics (Derrida, 1997; 1978; Stocker, 2006). Derrida refutes the structural Saussurean relationship between the *signifier* (the object presented) and the *signified* (the meaning of that object to a social actor) and instead argues that they are not directly related, but that the signified is defined by its relation to all other signifiers that have been signified (Derrida, 1997; 1978). Therefore, meaning is forever 'deferred' or postponed through an endless chain of signifiers which can, potentially, structurally implode Levi-Strauss' binary oppositions (**men - women;** **black - white**) and hierarchies (social class). According to Derrida (1997; 1978), these binary oppositions have been falsely taken-for-granted in Western metaphysics to underpin meaning itself. Both deconstruction and differance specify that the nature of each human subject – or *self* – is not the centre of Western metaphysics and it is constantly deferred in relation to excluded and absent others (Derrida, 1997; 1978; Sarup, 1993; Stocker, 2006). For both Derrida (1997; 1978) and Foucault (1991; 1998; 2002), subjects do not have an *a priori*

nature but are positioned within a discursive structure; and that this positioning is never 'fixed' as previously subjugated knowledges come to light to challenge the privileged knowledges, hence continuously altering the positioning of that particular subject.

The collaborative work of post-Marxist political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001) pooled all the previous theorisations of discourse theory; including integrating Gramscian and structural Marxism, critical theory, and Lacanian psychoanalysis. Their work developed third generation discourse theory, re-named PDT due to the influence of post-structuralism, which superseded the previous two generations in the field of international relations (Torfing, 2005; Hansen, 2006). This work is also the primary influence on the development of PDA in this field and beyond (Torfing, 2005; Hansen, 2006; Chouliaraki, 2008). Within both PDT and PDA, discourse is defined as a "... social and political construction which establishes a system of relations between different objects and practices, while providing subject positions with which social agents can identify" (Howarth, 2000, p.102). This thesis adopts PDT as its theoretical framework due to its compatible conceptualisation of discourse; its commitment to a discursive formation of reality; its stipulation that discourse is constructed and reproduced through *both* text and talk, and that these have important implications for the identity practices of subjects within discursive fields (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Baxter, 2002). I now move on to outline the seven central tenets of PDT.

3.2.3 Central tenets of post-structuralist discourse theory

Figure 3.1 Central tenets of Laclau & Mouffe's (1985; 2001) post-structuralist discourse theory

1. Discourses are relational systems of signification;
2. All social practices are constituted by historically specific discourses;
3. Meaning is constructed through the logics of equivalence and difference;
4. There is no centre that acts as a totalising discursive closure;
5. *Empty and floating signifiers* will function as *nodal points* for a transient 'fixation' of meaning;
6. Discourses are constructed in and through hegemonic struggles which 'fix' a moral, political or intellectual authority through the articulation of meaning and identity;
7. The hegemonic articulation of meaning and identity is underpinned by the development of social antagonism; including the exclusion of the radical 'Other'.

This thesis adopts all seven tenets of PDT presented in *figure 3.1*, and builds upon them using the work of Žižek (1989), Laclau (1996) and Hansen (2006). All tenets are intertwined and this section delineates each tenet individually. How these tenets were utilised in this thesis as a method of PDA, and part of an overarching PDA methodology, is discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.4.

According to the **first tenet**, discourses are relational systems of signification. Laclau & Mouffe (2001) elucidate that all discourses are constituted by an individual chain of signifiers. Each chain relationally co-constitutes against other chains of signifiers that comprise competing discourses. Each discourse thus contains traces of chains of signifiers from competing discourses that it has been relationally constituted against. Also, each chain of signifiers reproduces its own sequences of semantic language and pragmatic action (Torfing, 2005). Each individual discourse therefore becomes "... a system of statements, practices and institutional structures that share common values" (Hare-Mustin, 1994, p.19), and sustains a particular worldview (*ibid*). Normalising 'truths' about the nature of the social world and human nature are also contained within each discourse, and these 'truths' are likely to differ between discourses. Therefore, social practices are constituted through discourse; and particular social practices throughout

history have been constituted through historically specific discourses. This is the **second tenet** of PDT.

The **third tenet** espouses that meaning is constructed through the logics of equivalence and difference. Both Laclau & Mouffe (2001) and Žižek (1989)⁶⁸ specify that the chain of signifiers which constitute each discourse is also known as a *chain of equivalence* where the signifiers in the chain of signifiers are held together by the logic of equivalence. The logic of equivalence works to dissolve any discrepancies in elicited meaning between each signifier within the chain of equivalence to constitute a comprehensible discourse. According to the **third tenet**, this is only achieved through each discourse / chain of equivalence uniting as "... a common project and by establishing a frontier to define the forces to be opposed, the 'enemy'" (Mouffe, 1993, p.50; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Therefore, each discourse unites all the signifiers in its chain of equivalence through its difference to the chain of equivalence of an opposing discourse. This union of signifiers under a common project constitutes the meaning of the chain of signifiers and, consequently, the discourse. In contrast, the logic of difference seeks to accentuate the variances in meaning between the signifiers in each chain of signifiers by rebuilding the differences between them.

The **fourth tenet** states that there is no centre that acts as a totalising discursive closure. This builds on Derrida's anti-essentialist claim⁶⁹ that there is no transcendental centre which is the over-arching structure of all structures; therefore, there is no central production point of discourse, nor a centre to which social identities are fixed (Howarth, 2000; Torfing, 2005). Derrida's (1997) work also stipulates that "... discourses are 'incomplete' linguistic systems that are produced by the 'play of differences', and which mediate and organize our experience of the world" (Howarth, 2000, p.42). This undecidability of the social world means that every discourse is never a closed totality, but is constantly re-negotiated due to the 'contingency of articulation', i.e. discursive fields characterised by a 'surplus of meaning' that can never be fully exhausted by any specific discourse.

⁶⁸ Who developed Laclau & Mouffe's (1985) original work.

⁶⁹ This is discussed in section 3.2.2.

According to the **fifth tenet**, *empty* and *floating signifiers* will function as *nodal points* for a transient 'fixation' of meaning. Both *empty* and *floating signifiers* only acquire meaning through their positioning to other signifiers; both within the chain of equivalence they are positioned in, and in relation to the chain of equivalence they are in opposition with. Once this occurs, both *empty* and *floating signifiers* then crystallise within this chain of equivalence and, therefore, a particular discourse (Žižek, 1989; Laclau, 1996). It is more difficult to crystallise a set meaning of a *floating signifier* even when it is locked into a chain of equivalence because a competing discourse can easily unlock it due to its ability to be easily incorporated into competing chains of equivalence (Žižek, 1989; Laclau, 1996; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). The signification of an *empty signifier* crystallises more easily within a particular discourse and, thus, it is harder for a competing discourse to effectively challenge these reproduced significations and meanings.

Žižek (1989) postulates that 'democracy' is both an *empty* and a *floating signifier*. It is a *floating signifier* because its significations and meaning change depending on the chain of equivalence incorporating it. Žižek (1989) outlines the differences between liberal-individualistic and socialist-democratic discourses of democracy. Both discourses' chains of signifiers are likely to be constructed by stable, and opposing, signifiers that compete to articulate and reproduce their preferred signification of the 'democracy' *floating signifier*. Consequently, the 'democracy' signifier can be easily unlocked by either competing discourse. Žižek (1989) advances that 'democracy' is also an *empty signifier* as "... the only way to define 'democracy' is to say that it contains all political movements and organizations which legitimize, designate themselves as 'democratic'... [and] by its positional-relational identity – by its opposition, its differential relation to 'non-democratic'" (p.108-109). Therefore, *empty signifiers* can only be defined by what they are not, and are normally complex, nebulous and multifaceted concepts whose meanings and significations are both contested and difficult to define.

Yet, the significations and meanings of *empty signifiers* are also typically taken-for-granted and unquestioned within particular discursive fields. Within the discursive field of community development, the signifiers of 'community', 'community development', 'professionals', 'volunteers' and 'local people' are all *empty signifiers* as their meanings and significations are both multifaceted and contested,

but also taken-for-granted and, at times, uncritically questioned. In addition, Žižek (1989) insists that *empty signifiers* can lose their *empty* status and become *floating signifiers* when competing discourses directly challenge the meanings and significations of *empty signifiers* and seek to reproduce their preferred articulations of these signifiers. As this thesis is looking at the discursive field of community development within England, the signifiers of 'community', 'community development', 'professional', 'volunteer' and 'local people' are both *empty* and *floating signifiers* – *empty* because their significations and meanings are contested, taken-for-granted and, at times, uncritically questioned within this field; and *floating* because this thesis is actively seeking to determine which competing discourses of community development are available in this discursive field within a particular timeframe. Each discourse is therefore likely to reproduce their preferred articulations of these signifiers.

The successful and coherent articulation of all signifiers within a discourse's chain of equivalence is also determined by "... the construction of nodal points which partially fix meaning" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p.113). *Nodal points* have their foundations in Lacan's 'points de capiton', which are "... privileged signifiers that fix the meaning of a signifying chain" (ibid, p.112). These act as one of several discursive 'centres' in a given discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Žižek (1989) expands on this and states: "(t)he nodal point tends to exercise a totalizing effect on contiguous positions such that they partially lose their floating character and become parts of the structured network of meaning" (p.87). Žižek (1989) also gives an example of how a *nodal point* works. In communist ideology and its related discourses, the 'communism' signifier is a *nodal point* that binds together other *empty* and *floating* signifiers, such as 'democracy', 'state', and 'freedom', within a chain of equivalence. The 'communism' *nodal point* strongly 'flavours' the re-articulated significations and meanings of these *empty* and *floating signifiers* and, resultantly, these signifiers lose their *empty* and *floating* status for a transient 'fixation' of meaning.

Discourses can also be categorised as dominant, marginalised or silenced. Dominant discourses are different from marginalised and silenced discourses as they are the successful outcome of hegemonic projects whereby a social, economic and/or political construction "... weaves together different strands of

discourse in an effort to dominate or structure a field of meaning, thus fixing the identities of objects and practices in a particular way” (Howarth, 2000, p.102). The strands woven together within each discourse are *nodal points*, *floating signifiers* and *empty signifiers* in each chain of equivalence through the practice of *articulation*. Torfing (2005) defines articulation as: “a practice that establishes a relation among discursive elements that invokes a mutual modification of their identity” (p.15). Articulation is crucial for hegemonic projects as they “... provide a credible principle upon which to read past, present and future events, and capture people’s hearts and minds” (ibid).

Laclau & Mouffe (2001) build upon Gramsci’s logic of hegemony to stipulate that hegemony is not solely the imposition of a particular ideology from the ruling class on to the masses, but is a pervasive political project that tirelessly struggles to (re)constitute the social. As stated in section 3.2.2, discourse, as defined by PDT, is not a particular part of the social but is synonymous with the social. Hegemonic projects seek to construct discourses that ‘fix’ a moral, political or intellectual authority within the social through the articulation of meaning. This is the **sixth tenet** of PDT.

The **seventh tenet** advocates that the hegemonic articulation of meaning and identity is underpinned by the development of social antagonism “... which includes the exclusion of a threatening Otherness that stabilises the discursive system while, at the same time, preventing its ultimate closure” (Torfing, 2005, p.15). There are two important, and interrelated, developments here: (i) the articulation of identity, and (ii) the development of social antagonism. Within PDT, each discourse reproduces subject positions with which social actors can identify (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Howarth, 2000; Hansen, 2006). Subject positions are defined as discursive repertoires, or *Se/ves*, which individual social actors adopt to present themselves in particular ways to others (Burr, 1995; Davies & Harré, 1999; Törrönen, 2001). These subject positions, like discourses, are relational and are therefore co-constituted in relation to subject positions from competing discourses. Hansen (2006) advances the constitution of subject positions in her discussions of PDA detailed in section 3.3. Nonetheless, Laclau & Mouffe (2001) do develop the articulation of identity – particularly the co-construction of the Self and the ‘Other’ – through discussions of social antagonism.

Social antagonism depicts both the limits and unity of a particular discursive field (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). It is the presence of antagonistic forces, and the instability of the frontiers that separate them, that are the two conditions of hegemonic articulation within a discursive field:

“Only the presence of a vast area of floating elements and the possibility of their articulation to opposite camps... is what constitutes the terrain permitting us to define a practice as hegemonic. Without equivalence and without frontiers, it is impossible to speak strictly of hegemony.” (ibid, p.136)

These ‘opposite camps’ are the hegemonic chain of equivalence and its oppositional chain of equivalence that are relational and co-constitutive within a particular discursive field. Referring back to the **third tenet** of PDT, a hegemonic chain of equivalence / discourse can only unite as “... a common project and by establishing a frontier to define the forces to be opposed, the ‘enemy’” (Mouffe, 1993, p.50; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Bringing together **all tenets**, social antagonism is a process where discourses ‘fight’ to re-articulate the significations and meanings of *nodal points*, *empty signifiers* and *floating signifiers* - through dislocating the chain of equivalence of competing discourses - to achieve hegemonic articulation within a particular discursive field. Discourses achieve this by ‘othering’ competing discourses as forces to be opposed and / or the ‘enemy’ and, resultantly, *marking* the signifiers of an opposing discourse. This co-constitution of an ‘enemy’ or an ‘Other’ can potentially destabilise a hegemonic discourse as it highlights the frontiers and instabilities of each discourse.

Laclau & Mouffe (2001), Žižek (1989), Laclau (1996) and Hansen (2006) all share related, yet contrasting, interpretations of how this ‘enemy’ / ‘Other’ is constituted and its implications for not only the hegemonic articulation of meaning and identity, but also its hegemonic dislocation, i.e. the dislocation of the chain of equivalence of a hegemonic discourse. Broadly, it is possible to put these theorists under two camps due to their own interpretation of the ‘Other’ and its place in PDT. Žižek (1989) and Laclau (1996) adopt a strong Lacanian psychoanalytic influence; whereas Laclau & Mouffe (2001) and Hansen (2006) are grounded in the social and political PDT of Derrida and (late) Foucault. Both camps share an understanding that there is an ‘enemy’ / ‘Other’ of the Self (the psychoanalytic

'split subject' or the post-structuralist 'social / political agent') that is blocking the Self from being complete, and the Self is therefore "... traumatised by its lack of fullness" (Torfing, 2005, p.17). To cope with this, the split subject or social / political agent constructs, within its discursive field, a constitutive outside that "... facilitates the displacement of responsibility for the split subject's lack on to an enemy, which is held responsible for all evil" (ibid). As a result, the split subject or the social / political agent abjects (in the Kristevian sense) the 'enemy' / 'Other' and seeks to continually polarise it into the constitutive outside to stabilise the Self's formation in the constitutive inside. In PDT, this is the constitution of the *radical 'Other'* (Hansen, 2006; Laclau, 1996; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Žižek, 1989).

This thesis adopts the conceptualisation of the post-structuralist social / political agent over that of the psychoanalytic split subject. This follows Laclau & Mouffe (2001) but also its development by Hansen (2006) who was influenced by Connolly (1991) and Campbell (1992). Connolly (1991) explores Laclau & Mouffe's (1985) **first tenet** of PDT that **identity is relational** and argues that a radical 'Other' (also known as the threatening 'Other' in international relations) is needed to 'complete' the definition of the Self; and that the Self turns constructions of difference into Otherness to hold its fractured Self in place.

Connolly (1991) makes a distinctive break from Laclau & Mouffe (1985); a break that is replicated in the work of Campbell (1992) and Hansen (2006). Connolly (1991) stipulates that the identity of the Self does not have to be solely constructed against / co-constituted with an 'enemy' or a radical 'Other'. Instead, the Self can be "... constructed through a variety of non-selves compromising complementary identities, contending identities, negative identities and non-identities" (Hansen, 2006, p.39). Campbell (1992) makes similar assertions and concludes that "... foreign policies that draw upon more ambiguous or complex constructions of difference" (cited in Hansen, 2006, p.39). Hansen (2006) concurs and advances that "... the Other is situated within a web of identities rather than in a simple Self-Other duality" (p.40-41). It is these webs of identities where more ambiguous or complex constructions of difference exist that this thesis draws upon. This chapter now turns to how this thesis operationalises PDT by incorporating its main tenets into an existing method of PDA.

3.3 Analytical Framework: Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis

3.3.1 Hansen's (2006) post-structuralist discourse analysis

3.3.1.1 Introduction

Hansen's (2006) methodology-in-action analysis of the Bosnian war (1992-1995) provides a detailed blueprint on how to apply features of post-structuralist discourse theory into post-structuralist discourse analysis. Hansen's (2006) analysis focusses on the construction and reproduction of Western discourses of the Bosnian war to establish the co-constitutive character of representations of identity and various foreign policy positions. For Hansen (2006), "... foreign policies are articulated to legitimize particular actions, thereby installing and constraining agency" (p.211). Her analysis establishes how tensions between dominant and marginalised discourses within the EU and the US concerning the Bosnian war created problematic identities and representations of not only Bosnia as a country, but also of key social actors on either side of the war divide. Hansen's (2006) utilisation of post-structuralist discourse analysis is rooted within a detailed post-structuralist discourse analysis methodology. I now turn to outline Hansen's (2006) post-structuralist epistemological and ontological claims which I adopt in this thesis.

3.3.1.2 Epistemology and ontology

Central to Hansen's post-structuralist discourse analysis is the post-structuralist assumption that (foreign) policies draw upon representations of identity, and that identity is *discursive, political, relational* and *social*. To state that identity is

discursive and *political* is to proclaim there are "... no objective identities located in some extra-discursive realm" (Hansen, 2006, p.6) and that identity constructions are continually contested. Identity is thus constructed through discourse and identities are continually re-articulated and contested by competing discourses (ibid). To state that identity is *relational* and *social* implies that a particular identity formation and its social practices (subject position) is always given in reference to identity formations and its social practices (subject positions) it does not positively identify with, i.e. what is *not*. Therefore, Hansen's conceptualisation of identity as *discursive*, *political*, *relational* and *social* implies that (foreign) policy discourse always articulates a *Self* and a series of *Others* that are involved in socially antagonistic relationships. These are the fundamentals of Hansen's post-structuralist discourse analysis, which is rooted in the central tenets of Laclau & Mouffe's (2001) post-structuralist discourse theory.

Hansen (2006) adds that as representations of identity and policy are co-constituted and enacted through discourse, they do not exist in a *causal relationship* with each other. Post-structuralist discourse analysis mirrors post-structuralism's *discursive ontology* in which an understanding of language is central. For post-structuralism, language is ontologically significant: "it is only through the construction in language that 'things' – objects, subjects, states, living beings, and material structures – are given meaning and endowed with a particular identity" (Hansen, 2006, p. 17). Therefore, there is no objective 'truth' beyond linguistic representations and that an understanding of a 'thing' can shift due to, for example, its particular political, social, relational and historical context. The co-constitutive nature of identity and policy through a discursive ontology – where it is through the discursive enactment and performance of policy that identity comes into being - means that post structuralist discourse analysis's *discursive ontology* is married to a *discursive epistemology* where "... identities need to be articulated in language to have political and analytical presence" (Hansen, 2006, p. 24). As a result, identities and policies must be understood as not only co-constitutive but as enacted through discourse. Post-structuralist discourse analysis can be used to establish how identities and their social practices, i.e. subject positions, are represented and performed throughout competing discourses in (social/public/foreign) policy texts. However, post-structuralist discourse analysis cannot be used to document the causal effects of subject positions on policy or

vice versa. To break with such causality is an ontological and epistemological choice in post-structuralist discourse theory and post-structuralism; with post-structuralist discourse analysis facilitating the development of non-causal research designs within post-structuralist discourse analysis methodologies.

3.3.1.3 Texts and intertextuality

Hansen (2006) uses post-structuralist discourse analysis to deconstruct⁷⁰ a variety of texts, such as policy, speeches, parliamentary debates, interviews and newspaper articles; that each make particular constructions of subject positions and present particular understandings of (social/public/foreign) policy debates. Bax (2011) broadly defines texts as artefacts which include written and spoken language that "... functions as a unity... [with] 'cohesive ties' of various kinds serving to link the parts together" (p.26). Hansen (2006) adds that no single text exists in a vacuum as all texts relate to and build upon each other implicitly or explicitly, and it is through this interconnected web of texts that each text procures its meaning. This is rooted in Julia Kristeva's (1980) *intertextuality*, but Hansen (2006) advances this within post-structuralist discourse analysis to look at genres as distinctions between texts. Genres exist in different contexts and abide to different styles as they articulate knowledge and authority differently (ibid). For Hansen (ibid), genres can be separated into three intertextual models: (i) official discourse, (ii) wider political debate and (iii) cultural / marginal political discourses⁷¹. The choice of intertextual model has consequences for what can be concluded about discursive stability, i.e. the more models included, the stronger the foundation for assessing the hegemony of official discourse (ibid). This allows the post-structuralist discourse analyst a wider scope to study the discursive formation of subject positions in policy debates by seeking intertextual links across genres, in addition to locating competing discourses in official discourse. Competing discourses are likely to be more prevalent in genres such as

⁷⁰ Using Derrida's deconstruction – see section 3.2.2.

⁷¹ These intertextual models are outlined in section 3.4. My selection of texts and how they fit into different genres and intertextual models is discussed in section 3.5.1.

newspaper articles, parliamentary debates and internet-sourced documentaries from intertextual models ii and iii (ibid). How official discourse counters, silences or ignores such competing representations can also be studied through the inclusion of more intertextual models and genres.

3.3.1.4 Four (plus one) stages of discourse analysis

Once texts have been chosen to analyse, there are four key stages in undertaking post-structuralist discourse analysis to systematically analyse how discourse is constructed and reproduced through texts, and the influence this has on the discursive formation of subject positions adopted by social actors (Hansen, 2006). These four stages are: (i) isolating **basic discourses** which point to the main areas of contestation within debates; (ii) the assertion of **dominant practices** within a discursive field of knowledge; (iii) the assertion of **oppositional practices** within the same discursive field of knowledge; and (iv) analysing **identity constructions** through a three-pronged approach which charts their development across space, time and in relation to ethical responsibility; in other words, the *spatial*, *temporal* and *ethical* identity constructions of subject positions (ibid; Emejulu, 2010). Hansen (2006) identifies that to move beyond the individual analysis of texts towards intertextual discourses, then **basic discourses** must be isolated to highlight:

“... the main points of contestation within a debate and facilitate(s) a structured account of the relationship between discourses, their points of convergence and confrontations; how discourses develop over time in response to events, facts and criticism; and how discursive variations evolve.” (p. 52)

Basic discourses determine how knowledge is produced and maintained within a discursive field. Hansen (2006) adds there are not a fixed number of basic discourses that can be determined from a debate, but does suggest focusing on *two or three* that “... articulate very different constructions of identity and policy and which thereby separate the policy landscape between them” (p.52). This involves looking for patterns and repetitions in language and the implications that these articulations have for subject positions reproduced within these discursive formations; and how these articulations and reproductions impact on alternative

representations within the same discursive field. In doing so, both **dominant** and **oppositional** practices can be ascertained between such competing discourses (Emejulu, 2010).

For Hansen (2006), **dominant practices** are "... taken for granted and uncontested forms of knowledge, meaning and identity within a discursive field of knowledge" (Emejulu, 2010, p. 22). The post-structuralist discourse analyst should look for dominant practices to isolate "... the structure of norms, values and traditions within a given discourse" (ibid). Hansen (2006) also highlights the importance of historicising such dominant practices to understand how they have marginalised or silenced other practices within different timeframes. This has implications for the construction and reproduction of discourses in the timeframe under study (2010-2015). In contrast, **oppositional practices** challenge the norms, values and traditions perpetuated through **dominant practices** by providing alternative interpretations; and place the claims of **dominant practices** into a wider discursive field which facilitates a research agenda to examine how "... policy representations and representations articulated by oppositional political forces, the media, academe and popular culture reinforce or contest each other" (Hansen, 2006, p.7; Emejulu, 2010).

The fourth stage of Hansen's (2006) post-structuralist discourse analysis is to analyse **identity constructions** through a three-pronged approach which charts their development across space, time and in relation to ethical responsibility. Emejulu (2010) claims this is the central purpose of Hansen's post-structuralist discourse analysis and her overarching post-structuralist discourse analysis methodology, and that the "... interplay between dominant and oppositional practices highlights antagonisms between subjects and also helps to show how the identities articulated in each discourse construct the Self and the Other" (p.22). Emejulu (2010) establishes that Hansen defines identity constructions in three ways: (i) **spatial** constructions where identity is constituted through the construction of frontiers and boundaries - which can be both physical and abstract – between the Self and the Other; (ii) **temporal** constructions where identity is constituted "... through a process of change, development or continuity whereby the Other can be analysed as capable of transformation or intransigence" (ibid); and (iii) **ethical** constructions where identity is constituted through the "... adoption

or rejection of moral responsibilities the Self constructs towards the Other” (ibid, p.22-23; Hansen, 2006).

Hansen (2006) advises using this three-pronged approach to avoid falling into a trap of reproducing binary-based constructions of identity only. However, I would argue that the post-structuralist discourse analyst, both theoretically and analytically, needs to initially develop binary based constructions of identity, i.e. the Self and the Other, which then can be deconstructed more thoroughly within post-structuralist discourse analysis, i.e. as multiple Selves and Others that both Connolly (1991) and Campbell (1992) endorse. My own utilisation of Hansen’s stages of post-structuralist discourse analysis involves adding an extra stage of analysis that comes before Hansen’s first stage of isolating basic discourses. This additional stage of analysis follows the application of all seven central tenets of post-structuralist discourse theory for *each individual text*. Seventy-four individual texts have been analysed to fulfil the research aim and objectives of this thesis⁷². When I started using Hansen’s post-structuralist discourse analysis, I needed a ‘summary’ document for each individual text that would encapsulate the patterns and repetitions in language, and the implications that these articulations could have for subject positions constructed and reproduced. This was so a comparative could then be undertaken between all seventy-four texts; to then undertake Hansen’s four stages of post-structuralist discourse analysis more carefully and thoroughly.

During my readings of Laclau & Mouffe (2001), commentaries on their post-structuralist discourse theory by other theorists (cf. Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1998; Torfing, 1999) and applications of post-structuralist discourse theory by other authors (cf. Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000; Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2002; Howarth & Torfing, 2005), I followed their use of post-structuralist discourse theory *in action* as a visualisation process. This visualisation process co-constructs the Self and ‘Other’ through the logic of equivalence and relational identity formation. This includes visualising how competing discourses would try to incorporate *floating* and *empty signifiers* into their chains of equivalence to create dynamic, and potentially multiple, Selves and ‘Others’. This approach would also avoid the trap of reproducing ‘static’ binary reproductions of

⁷² A list of these texts is located in Appendix A.

identity formations and their social practices (subject positions). In summary, *figure 3.2* depicts the five stages of PDA utilised in this thesis:

Figure 3.2 Five stages of post-structuralist discourse analysis used in this thesis

1. Direct application of the **central tenets** of post-structuralist discourse theory for each individual text;
2. Isolating **basic discourses** across all texts;
3. The assertion of **dominant practices** across all texts;
4. The assertion of **oppositional practices** across all texts;
5. Analysing **identity constructions** across all texts using a three-pronged approach which charts their *spatial*, *temporal* and *ethical* development.

3.3.1.5 Constructing identity webs of binaries and their intertextual links

For the first stage of PDA, I created a visual representation of the available binary pairs (including *nodal points*, *floating* and *empty signifiers*) constructed within each of the seventy-four texts. Following Derrida's (1997) deconstruction⁷³, for each individual text I established what binary pairs were reproduced in the text, and which of the terms in each pair were *privileged* and *marked*. An example is the reproduction of the **Big Society – Big State** binary pair in David Cameron's *Big Society speech* (2010)⁷⁴. This binary reproduces five times in this text, with the 'Big Society' signifier consistently *privileged* over the 'Big State' signifier. For example:

“It's time for something different, something bold - something that doesn't just pour money down the throat of wasteful, top-down government schemes. The Big Society is that something different and bold.” (ibid, np)

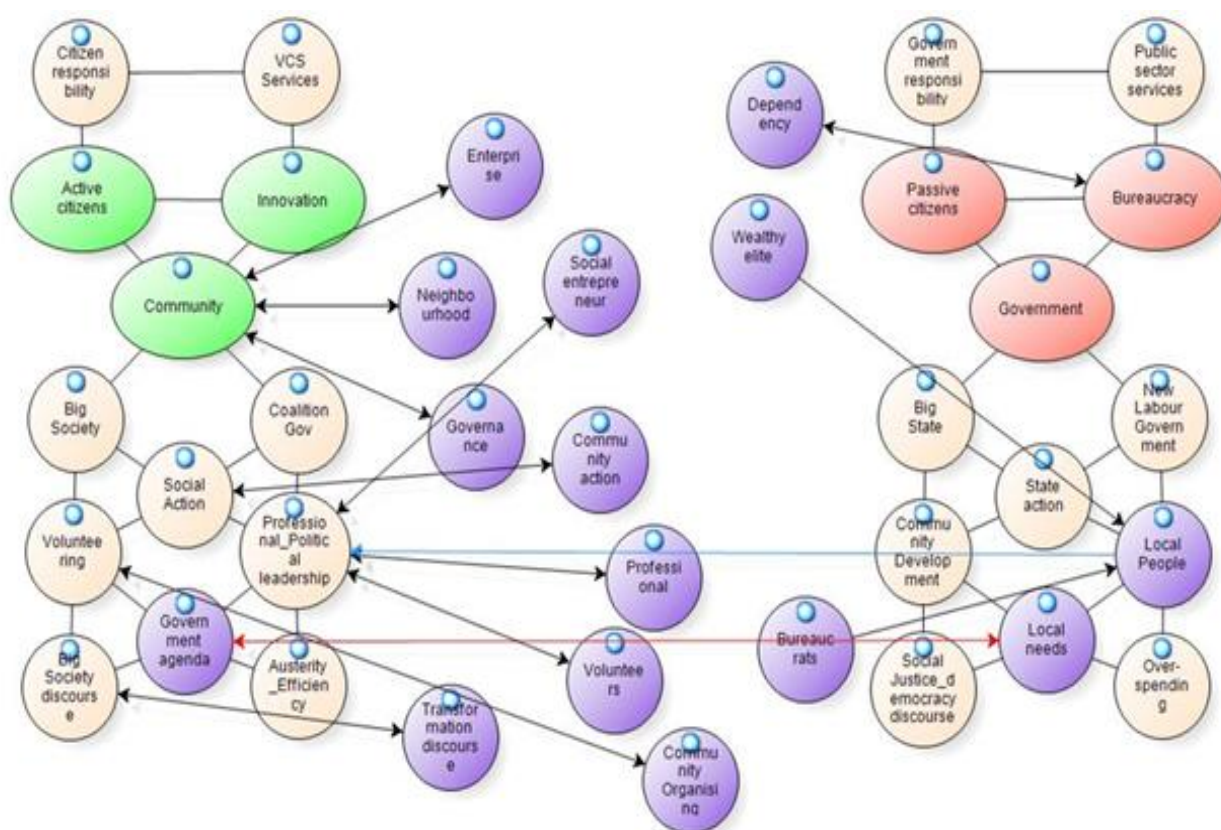
The 'Big Society' signifier is *privileged* in this excerpt; positioning itself against the *marked* 'Big State' signifier which is signified as wasteful and top-down. The 'Big Society' signifier, through relational identity formation, is therefore relationally

⁷³ See section 3.2.2.

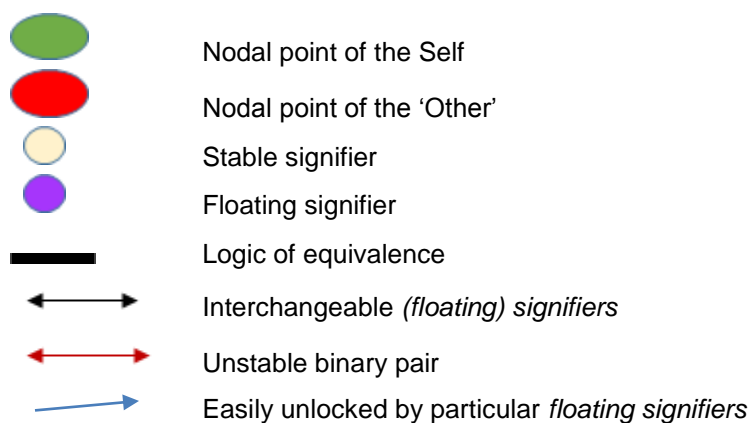
⁷⁴ This speech is included in the official discourse intertextual model as it is a key influence on the policy, legislation and policy drivers released by the Coalition between 2010-2015. It is listed in Appendix A.

signified as resourceful and bottom-up. The 'Big Society' signifier is stable and continually *privileged* in this text because its opposing binary term, 'Big State', is consistently *marked* and 'othered'. This binary is therefore stable in this text. *Figure 3.3* illustrates this text's identity web of binaries and the key to read this IWB.

Figure 3.3 Identity web of binaries for Cameron's (2010) 'Big Society' speech



Key for IWBs



There are two relationally co-constituted chains of signifiers in this text. The first chain constitutes through the 'community', 'active citizens' and 'innovation' (green) signifiers which are the most consistently *privileged* signifiers in this text and are,

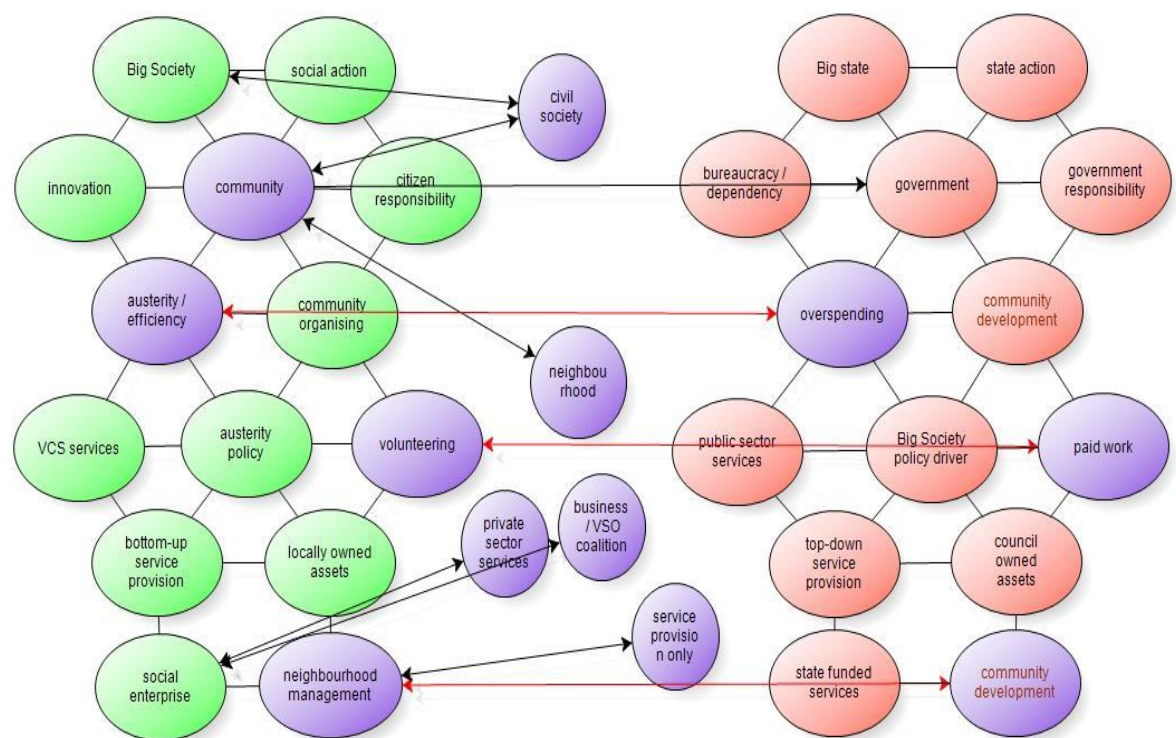
resultantly, the *nodal point* of an overarching Self that this text is constructing. The second chain is relationally constituted by the ‘government’, ‘passive citizens’ and ‘bureaucracy’ (red) signifiers which are the most consistently *marked* signifiers in this text and are thus the *nodal point* of an overarching ‘Other’. This text’s particular articulations of each *nodal point* significantly ‘flavour’ the meanings and significations of the remaining signifiers in each chain.

‘Community’ is the central, and *empty*, signifier of the Self and it is signified, and *privileged*, through its co-constitute relationship with its opposing *marked* signifier of ‘government’, i.e. that the meaning of community articulates as opposite to the meaning of government. Yet, the ‘government’ signifier is also involved in three additional binary pairs where ‘government’ is consistently *marked*: **enterprise – government**; **neighbourhood – government** and **governance – government**. The **community – government** binary is the most common as it occurs eight times in this text. Therefore, ‘enterprise’, ‘neighbourhood’ and ‘governance’ are *floating signifiers* – marked in purple - that can replace the *empty signifier* of ‘community’ and also ‘flavour’ how this *empty signifier* articulates within this text. A discourse can then use the interchangeability of these *floating signifiers* to its advantage, i.e. if the discourse wishes to construct the significations of both ‘community’ and ‘neighbourhood’ as similar to *privilege* communities of place over both communities of interest and identity. Subject positions, community-based practices and repeated signifiers that could constitute the chains of signifiers of basic discourses are also sketched in each individual identity web of binaries to augment the intertextual analysis to follow. In *figure 3.3*, signifiers relating to subject positions (‘active citizens’, ‘passive citizens’, ‘volunteers’, ‘local people’ and ‘political / professional leadership’) and community-based practices (‘volunteering’, ‘community development’, ‘social action’ and ‘state action’) are included in the identity web of binaries.

All seventy-four identity webs of binaries were then compared to isolate **basic discourses**, **dominant practices**, **oppositional practices** and **identity formations** intertextually. Once these stages were completed, composite identity webs of binaries were then constructed for each individual competing discourse –

incorporating the most consistently reproduced *nodal points*⁷⁵ of the Self and the 'Other' that were co-constituted throughout the individual texts. The identity web of binaries of the dominant Enterprise discourse including collated *nodal points*, consistently reproduced *floating signifiers* and subject positions is located in Appendix G⁷⁶. *Figure 3.4* illustrates the *nodal points*, *empty* and *floating signifiers* of both the Self and 'Other' of the Enterprise discourse (minus subject positions). *Figure 3.5* then illustrates the partial subject positions of the Self and 'Other' under this same discourse. A partial subject position is a signifier corresponding to a subject position that needs to be 'fleshed out' using Hansen's three-pronged approach to identity to chart their spatial, temporal and ethical identity constructions. These constitute the dominant practices of the Enterprise discourse.

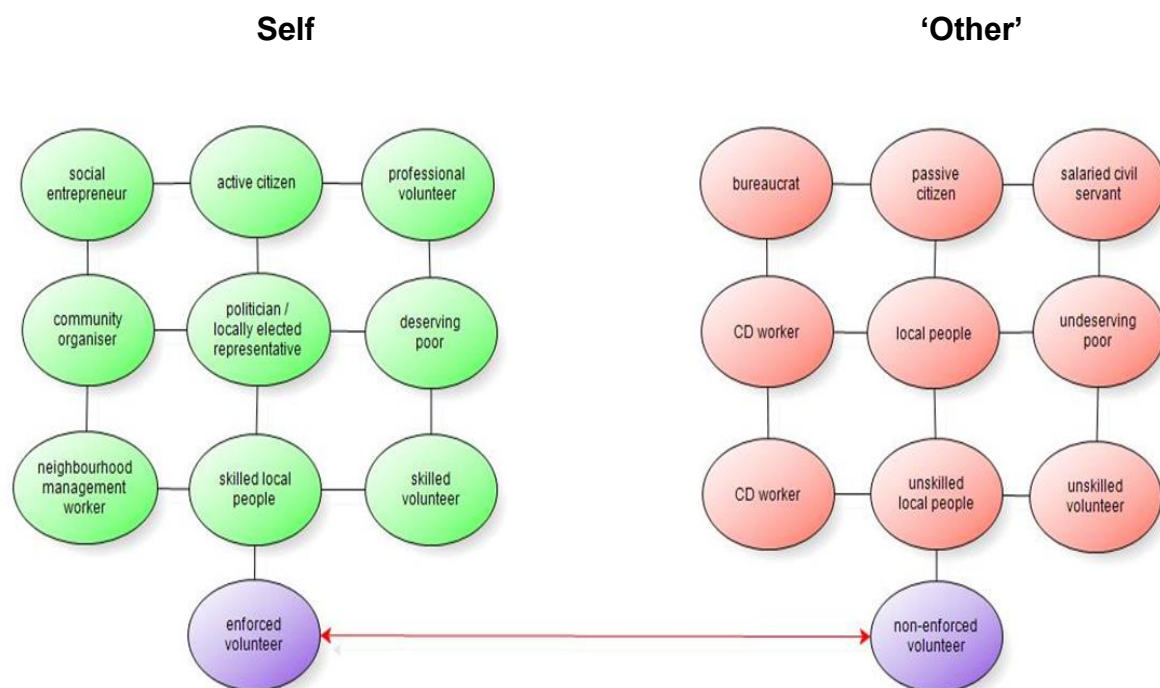
Figure 3.4 Identity web of binaries of the Enterprise discourse



⁷⁵ Also referred to as dominant or oppositional practices depending on the status – dominant, marginalised or silenced - of the community development discourse.

⁷⁶ This identity web of binaries was moved to Appendix G due to its size. However, it has been broken down into two corresponding figures – 3.4 and 3.5 – in this chapter.

Figure 3.5 Partial subject positions of the Enterprise discourse



Constructing the identity web of binaries for the Enterprise discourse and other available discourses allowed me to isolate which of the seventy-four texts were reproducing the dominant practices of the Enterprise discourse, and which reproduced the oppositional practices of other competing discourses. For example, *table 3.1* illustrates which texts reproduced the **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice of the Enterprise discourse:

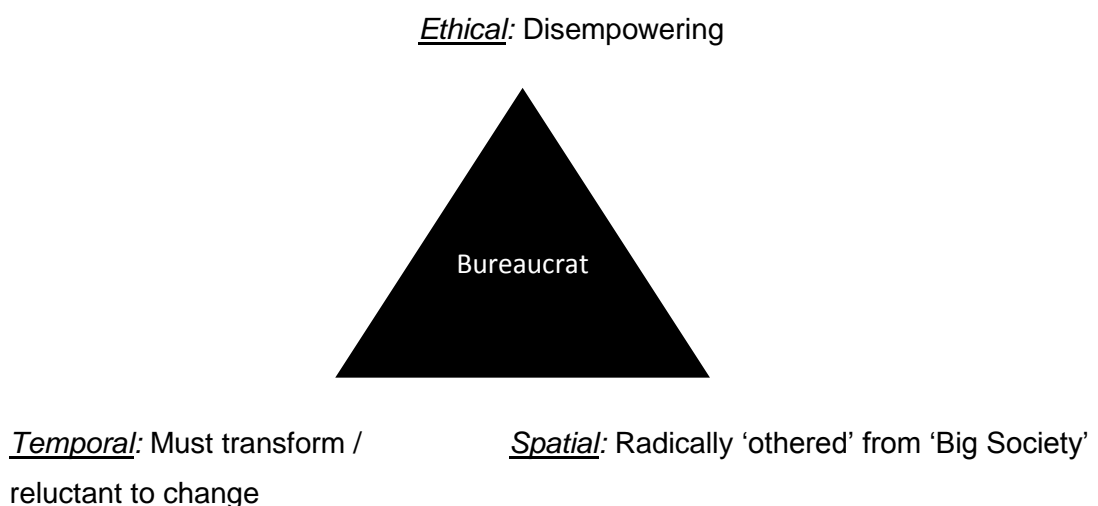
Table 3.1 Reproduction of the Big Society – Big State dominant practice

| Text | Status of signifiers Big Society / Big State | Intertextual model |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Blond (2010c) | <i>Privileged</i> (floating) / <i>marked</i> (floating) | National official discourse |
| Cameron (2010) | <i>Privileged</i> (stable) / <i>marked</i> (stable) | National official discourse |
| Cabinet Office (2010g) | <i>Privileged</i> (floating) / <i>marked</i> (stable) | National official discourse |
| Cabinet Office (2012e) | <i>Privileged</i> (stable) / <i>marked</i> (stable) | National official discourse |
| Woodhouse (2013) | <i>Privileged</i> (stable) / <i>marked</i> (stable) | National official discourse |
| Tam (2011) | <i>Marked</i> (floating) / <i>privileged</i> (floating) | National oppositional discourse |
| Powell (2013a) | <i>Privileged</i> (floating) / <i>marked</i> (stable) | National oppositional discourse |

From *table 3.1*, the **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice is principally reproduced in national official discourse and is fairly stable. However, Blond (2010c), Cabinet Office (2010g) and Powell (2013a) reproduce the *privileged* ‘Big Society’ signifier as a *floating signifier* which is used interchangeably with the ‘civil society’ *floating signifier* and thus re-articulates this dominant practice slightly differently from Cameron (2010), Cabinet Office (2012e) and Woodhouse (2013). Tam (2011) attacks this dominant practice by reversing its binary terms to make the ‘Big State’ signifier *privileged* and the ‘Big Society’ signifier *marked* through his defence of the New Labour administration (1997-2010).

After composite identity webs of binaries for each competing discourse were constructed, the final stage of PDA was undertaken to ‘flesh out’ the partial subject positions within these composite identity webs of binaries. This final stage involves charting the *spatial*, *temporal* and *ethical* identity constructions of each subject position constituted within all available discourses. An example from the Enterprise discourse is presented in *figure 3.6*:

Figure 3.6 The bureaucrat of the Enterprise discourse



Spatial, temporal and ethical constructions used to ‘flesh out’ partial subject positions follow patterns unique to each discourse. For example, under the Enterprise discourse the spatial constructions available to subject positions are limited to participation in, non-participation in and exclusion from the Coalition’s

'Big Society'; temporal constructions focus on whether the subject positions can change and promote change for others; and ethical constructions emphasise how much agency and power these subject positions have in relation to others involved in the same community development process. From *figure 3.6*, the bureaucrat of the Enterprise discourse is *spatially* reproduced as radically 'othered' from 'Big Society'; ethically reproduced as a 'disempowering' figure, and temporally reproduced as must transform / change into a more *privileged* subject position or potentially be excluded / lose their job under public sector reform and austerity ("(w)e will improve the civil service, and make it easier to reward the best civil servants and remove the least effective." (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.27)). This subject position is therefore a *radical 'Other'* of the Enterprise discourse.

3.4 *One moment* research design

Hansen's (2006) PDA is part of an overarching PDA methodology. As *figure 3.7* illustrates, a series of choices are made to construct a PDA methodology research design:

Figure 3.7 **Five choices to build a research design within a post-structuralist discourse analysis methodology**

1. Whether to study official (social/public/foreign) policy discourse only or expand the scope to include the political opposition, the media, and marginal discourses such as academic debate or the views of grassroots activists;
2. Whether to examine the (social/public/foreign) policy discourse of one Self or multiple Selves;
3. Whether to select one particularly salient moment or a time period that covers longer historical development;
4. Whether to study one issue or event or a multiplicity;
5. Which materials/texts/genres should be selected as the foundation for and object of analysis.

(Hansen, 2006, p.73)

As stated in section 3.3.1.3, a post-structuralist discourse analyst can choose from three distinct intertextual models within Hansen's PDA methodology to best fulfil their research aim(s) and objective(s). These intertextual models are: (i) official discourse, (ii) wider political debate, and (iii) cultural / marginal political discourses. *Official discourse* includes official documentation released by governments, heads of states and senior civil servants. *Wider political debate* includes texts from the political opposition party, the media and corporate institutions. *Cultural discourse* includes texts - including paintings and other creative media - from both popular and high culture. Finally, *marginal political discourse* includes debate from academics, social movements, illegal associations and non-governmental organisations. According to Hansen (2006) the more intertextual models, and genres of texts, included in a research design, the stronger the foundation for assessing the hegemony of dominant discourses and for uncovering competing, but comparatively marginalised or silenced, discourses. This thesis is concerned with uncovering which competing discourses of community development were (re)produced throughout the Coalition's time in office, and which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced. As this is an interdisciplinary thesis rooted in community development *and* social policy, the intertextual models of *official discourse*, which includes official policy documents, and *marginal political discourse*, which includes academic (community development) debate and social actors from non-governmental organisations, were included in the research design.

Originally, I planned to include material from *wider political debate*, including newspaper editorials in England and parliamentary debate, to determine key oppositional debate to the Coalition's policy, legislation and policy drivers released under their programme of public sector reform and austerity. This intertextual model was excluded for two reasons: (i) oppositional debate was present in texts under the *marginal political discourse* model and was more relevant to community development; and (ii) to give this intertextual model the same 'weight' as the other two models at least twenty additional texts would have to be analysed using PDA, which would have been unsustainable and overly-ambitious for a doctoral study.

Five separate genres of texts are analysed across these two chosen intertextual models. From the official discourse model there are three genres (key influences

on national policy, national policy / strategies and local policy / strategies) included, and two genres from *marginal political discourses* (academic debate and grassroots interviews). This fulfils Hansen's (2006) criterion to more thoroughly chart the stability of the discourses uncovered, especially the hegemony of the dominant discourse. In addition, the discursive formation of the subject positions of community development professionals, volunteers and local people in national and local policy debates is given a wide scope in this investigation by tracing their intertextual links and stability across two intertextual models and five genres of texts.

The second choice towards the construction of a research design was whether to study one or multiple Selves. This thesis sets out to study the *discursive encounters* between three social actors involved in community development processes: (i) *professionals* who are regarded as *community development workers* who are being paid to support community development processes, or are not labelled as such but are being paid to work in that capacity; (ii) *volunteers* who are supporting community development processes and can include local people who are formally giving their time to a community development process but are unpaid, and (iii) *local people* who are at the centre of community development processes but are not volunteering their time to ensure the continuation of the community development process they are involved with. Although it is possible for a social actor to have more than one subject position within a community development process, i.e. both a volunteer and a local person, only one subject position can be enacted at one time. Therefore, this study focusses on the range of subject positions that each social actor can potentially adopt within community development processes. This thesis is not concerned with comparing how these different *Selves* are individually constructed through discourse, but instead in their *discursive encounters*. *Discursive encounters* evolve around constructions of inferiority and superiority, therefore convey a particular distribution of discursive and political power awarded to one Self at the expense of an 'Other' (Hansen, 2006). This thesis studies how three Selves – professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes – were being discursively constructed in relation to each other within academic, policy and practice debate.

The third choice of whether to undertake a *one moment*, *comparative moments* or *historical development* temporal perspective in this study was determined by the research aim of this thesis. My research aim sets out to determine what happened to community development in England during the Coalition's time in office (2010-2015). This politically salient moment had major implications for the community development field and an in-depth study to chart these implications had not yet been undertaken. This thesis is therefore not interested in *comparative moments* - the comparison of community development discourses between different governments in England; nor the *historical development* of competing community development discourses in England. Still, Hansen (2006) warns that the choice of a *one moment* temporal perspective needs additional deliberation as present discourses are, more-often-than-not, rooted in historical texts and practices; and it can be difficult to 'find' silenced discourses without utilising some form of a comparative. Hansen (2006) also states that this 'drawback' of a *one moment* temporal perspective can be modified by the *number of issues / events* and *intertextual models* that the post-structuralist discourse analyst utilises. As previously stated, this research design includes two intertextual models that span five different genres of texts which can help to counterbalance this 'drawback'.

With regards to *number of issues / events* – the fourth choice within the construction of a research design – this thesis focusses on five interrelated policy events related by both *issue* and *time*; as illustrated in *figure 3.8*:

Figure 3.8 Policy events selected by issue and time

1. 'Big Society' / volunteering;
2. Localism / community asset transfers;
3. Austerity / public sector cuts
4. Community Organisers Programme
5. Social enterprise

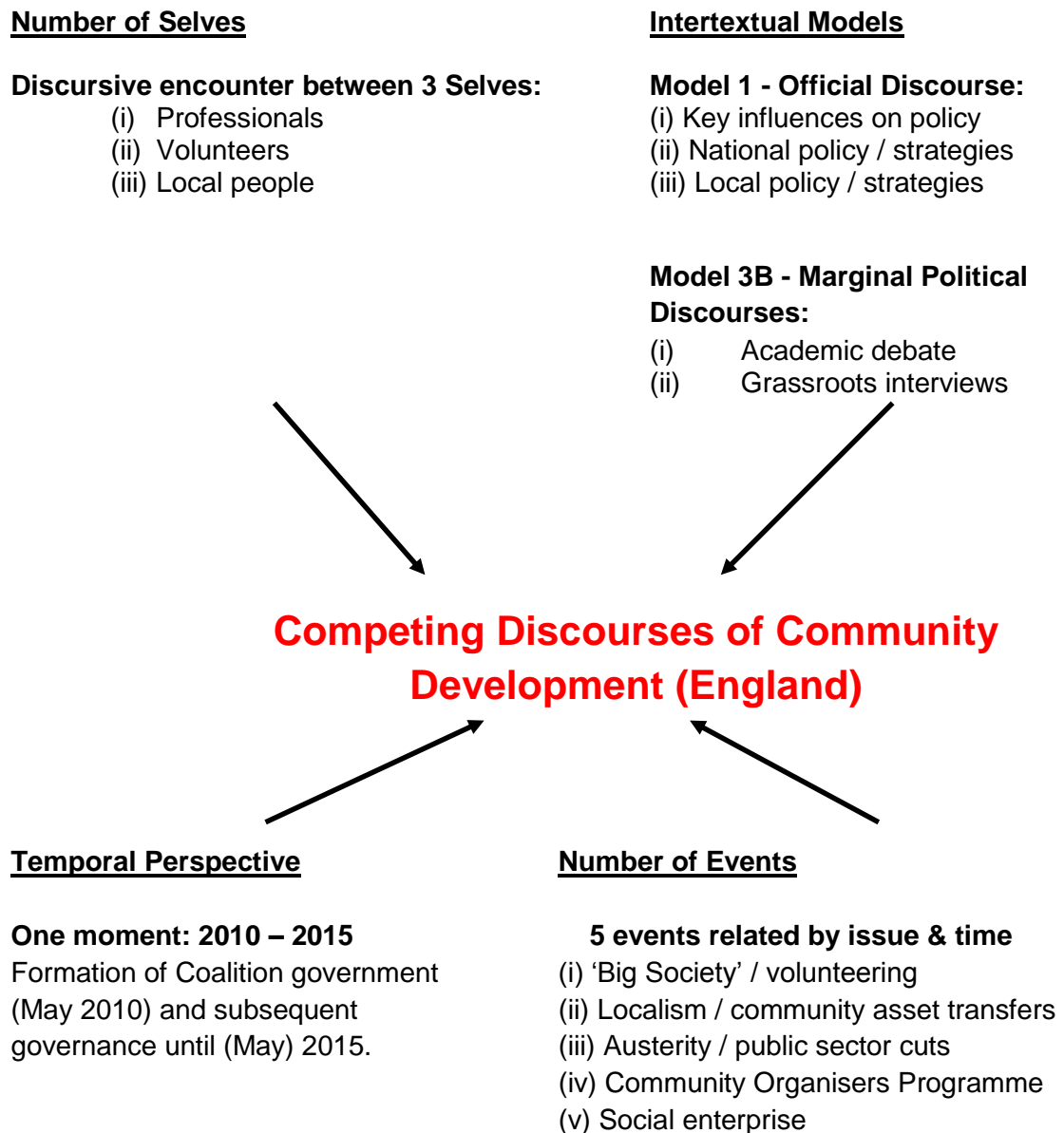
According to Hansen (2006), "(t)he analytical advantage of multiple events studies is that a comparison across time allows for an identification of patterns of transformation and reproduction while a comparison of issues located within the same temporal horizon generates knowledge of the discourses of the Self across

politically pertinent areas” (p.80). As sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 detail, the Coalition’s programme was saturated with policy, legislation and policy drivers focussed on implementing the ‘Big Society’ agenda, localism and public sector cuts which had significant implications for the field of community development in England. Central government’s promotion, and provision of the funding infrastructure, of the Community Organisers Programme also shaped the community development field during this timeframe.

The inclusion of the fifth policy event of social enterprise as a separate policy event from ‘Big Society’ needs explanation. Whilst selecting texts to study, early official policy texts advocated that the promotion and development of social enterprises was an integral part of the overall ‘Big Society’ policy agenda. Social enterprises were consistently championed as a civil society based organisational structure that would benefit from the devolution of power from central government to local communities (Cabinet Office 2010a; 2010b; 2010d). However, this trend began to shift where social enterprises were increasingly promoted over other civil society based organisational structures (cf. Cabinet Office, 2012c; 2012d; 2013b; 2014a). In conjunction, by early 2014 the term ‘Big Society’ had all but disappeared from policy debate whilst social enterprise debate continued to develop (Cabinet Office, 2014b; 2015b; 2015c). Thus, these five policy events were chronological (related by *time*) in that they charted the changing focus and development of the Coalition programme; and related by *issue* as all official documentation for these policy events was released by the Department for Communities and Local Government, and each had their own particular implications for the field of community development.

Figure 3.9 illustrates the research design of this investigation:

Figure 3.9 Research design of this study



I now move on to discuss the rationale for selecting texts to be analysed using PDA; directed by the five choices made to construct the research design.

3.5 Text Selection and Case Study Local Authority

3.5.1 Text selection

My five choices to construct the research design were the main inclusion and exclusion criteria for the selection of texts to be analysed using PDA. Hansen (2006) adds there are three additional considerations for determining which material to include under each intertextual model for subsequent PDA. These are illustrated in *figure 3.10*:

Figure 3.10 Hansen's (2006) three main considerations to determine which material to include under each intertextual model

1. The vast majority of the texts chosen under the intertextual models should be taken from the temporal perspective as detailed in the research design and there should also be key historical material included that "... traces the genealogy of dominant representations" (ibid, p.82);
2. That the entire body of material chosen should include key texts that are "... frequently quoted and function as nodes within the intertextual web of debate, as well as a larger body of general material that provides the basis for a more quantitative identification of the dominant discourses" (ibid, p.82);
3. That a good post-structuralist discourse analyst should have a broad knowledge of the policy debate in question which comes from "... reading standard works on the history, processes, events and debates that constitute a policy phenomenon" (ibid, p.83).

The research design of this thesis includes the official discourse and marginal political discourse intertextual models. Hansen's *first consideration* is that the vast majority of the texts chosen under these intertextual models should be taken from the temporal perspective under study. Hansen (2006) also states that there should also be key historical material included that "... traces the genealogy of dominant representations" (p. 82). **All** selected texts were authored between 2010 and 2015, and texts authored before this date were not included – the earliest is Blond (2010) which was published late March 2010. The rationale for this complies with Hansen's first consideration. This thesis wished to avoid falling into a *comparative*

moments research design which would, ultimately, change the scope and focus of the research aim and objectives.

Some selected texts discuss the previous New Labour administration (1997-2010) *from the perspective of the Coalition*. I am more interested in the Coalition's re-articulation of this previous administration as, following Laclau & Mouffe's PDT, it is likely that the Coalition's own dominant discourse will be part constituted by the dominant discourse available under the New Labour administration through: (i) 'othering' a re-articulation of this discourse; and / or (ii) incorporating elements of it into their own dominant discourse. In addition, the majority of the marginal political discourse material chosen⁷⁷ contains references to, and interpretations of, historical material that traces the genealogy of dominant representations within the community development field in England. This includes discussions on the New Labour administration which could both consolidate and conflict with the Coalition's re-articulations. For example, Taylor (2011b; 2012) and Chanan & Miller (2013) cite Ledwith's (2005) discussions on how community development was practiced under New Labour. I read Ledwith's (2005) text to authenticate that each author's secondary interpretations of Ledwith's debates were reasonable and logical, and also how Ledwith's articulations of New Labour either consolidated or contrasted with those of the Coalition. I repeated this process with all selected academic texts⁷⁸ to determine that each author's secondary interpretations of key historical debates within community development⁷⁹ were reasonable and logical before inclusion into this study. These historical texts were not analysed using PDA to stay focussed on a *one moment* research design and the research aim and objectives of the thesis.

Hansen's (2006) *second consideration* is that the entire body of material chosen should include texts that are "... frequently quoted and function as nodes within the intertextual web of debate, as well as a larger body of general material that provides the basis for a more quantitative identification of the dominant

⁷⁷ Also authored between 2010 and 2015.

⁷⁸ See Appendix A for the selected texts from the sub-genres of academic books and journal articles under the marginal political discourse intertextual model.

⁷⁹ Another example is debates surrounding the British Community Development Projects (CDPs). I read often referred to historical material first-hand, such as Green & Chapman (1992); Greeve (1973); Kraushaar (1982); Loney (1980; 1983) and Sharman (1981).

discourses” (p. 82). The official discourse material chosen is split by genre into three subcategories: (i) key political influences on policy; (ii) national policy / strategies / guidance papers, and (iii) local strategy / policy / guidance papers. This structure was chosen to achieve intertextuality as category iii frequently quotes from, or directly refers to, texts from category ii; and category ii either directly refers to, or reproduces key phrases from, texts from category i. For example, Council (2012b) frequently refers to Cabinet Office (2012b; 2011c), and both reproduce key phrases from Blond (2010) and Cameron (2010).

The introduction of subcategory i within the official discourse intertextual model needs some additional explanation as these texts⁸⁰ are not official policies / strategies that were released by the Coalition, and nor were they local policies / strategies directly influenced by these national policies / strategies. Whilst undertaking PDA on the national and local policies / strategies selected, two key texts were consistently referred to which were functioning as nodes within the official discourse debate: Blond (2010) and Cameron (2010); as the above example also demonstrates. Cameron’s speech, according to Hansen’s (2006) criteria, can be directly included into official discourse as it is an official statement by a head of government / president / prime minister.

The decision to include Blond (2010) within official discourse is also sustained by Hansen (2006) as it is a text that is directly supportive of the Conservative Party and their social and public policies prior to the formation of the, arguably, Conservative-led Coalition in May 2010. As detailed in section 2.3.2, a number of these policies were enacted by the Coalition. Equally important in this decision was Hansen’s (2006) own genealogical analysis of the Bosnian war. This elucidated that the two texts that had a substantial influence on the official foreign policy released by the West - especially the US and the UK – were *not* official policy texts but were two autobiographies in the travel genre. These were Rebecca West’s *The Black Lamb and the Grey Falcon* (originally published in 1941) and Robert Kaplan’s *Balkan Ghosts* (originally published in 1990). The latter was read by both Bill and Hilary Clinton in 1993 and had, reportedly, a definitive role in President Clinton’s decision for the US to intervene in the Bosnian war (Hansen,

⁸⁰ Blond (2010); Cameron (2010) and Glasman et al. (2011).

2006; Kaplan, 2005; 2016). It was clear from my reading of Coalition national policies and strategies that Blond (2010) should also be included as a key political influence on official policy as the convergences between Blond (2010) and national policies and strategies were not only striking, but also that Blond (2010) was explicitly referred to in some national policies and strategies, and was regarded as having authority to define particular political positions⁸¹.

The decision to include Glasman *et al.* (2011) as a key political influence on policy, under the official discourse intertextual model, is more complicated. Originally, I had plans to include this text under the marginal political discourse intertextual model with other oppositional, but potentially not widely read, texts. However, this text is not oppositional and reveals a striking convergence of ideological stipulations and their policy implications between the Coalition and the Labour Party under the leadership of Ed Miliband (2010-2015). Also, the texts included under the marginal political discourse intertextual model make no reference to Glasman *et al.* (2011) as an opposition text. After consideration, I decided to include Glasman *et al.* (2011) as a key political influence on official policy as this text could potentially discredit discourses that were prevalent throughout New Labour's administration, and subsequently legitimate emerging discourses produced by the Coalition. Only selected chapters of Blond (2010) and Glasman *et al.* (2011) were analysed using PDA as most did not comply with the core inclusion criteria, i.e. temporal perspective (2010-2015), clear articulations of identity (professionals, volunteers and local people) and discuss at least one of five policy events ('Big Society', localism, austerity, Community Organisers Programme and social enterprise).

This process of finding texts which functioned as nodes was replicated for the selection of texts under the marginal political discourse model. This intertextual model was split into three subcategories: (i) **academic books** with a focus on community development *and* at least one of the five policy events under study; (ii) **journal articles** with a focus on community development *and/or* at least one of the five policy events; and (iii) **grassroots interviews** with key social actors involved

⁸¹ See Woodhouse (2013, p.2) who directly refers to Blond's influence on 'Big Society' as articulated in Cameron's 'Big Society' speeches and, as a result, the Coalition's 'Big Society' policy agenda.

in community development processes in one case study local authority⁸² in England who discussed at least one of the five policy events. This local authority is also where the local strategies / policy / guidance papers from *official discourse* category iii were taken from to ensure continuity and intertextual relevance⁸³.

The **academic books** chosen were key nodes in the community development field's official, and likely oppositional, response to the official discourse released by the Coalition. Three of these texts were re-published but updated editions of core community development texts in the New Labour era and were modified as a response to Coalition policy, legislation and policy drivers that were impacting on community development theory, policy and practice, i.e. Banks *et al.* (2013)⁸⁴, Powell (2013)⁸⁵ and Taylor (2011)⁸⁶. The first editions of these texts are widely cited⁸⁷ by authors in the community development field⁸⁸. The fourth core text offers a 'new' perspective on community development in response to Coalition policy, legislation and policy drivers, and has been widely cited since its publication (cf. Mayo & Robertson, 2013; Somerville, 2016; Scott, 2017). This is Chanan & Miller (2013)⁸⁹. Like Blond (2010) and Glasman *et al.* (2011), only chapters of these four books that fulfilled the core inclusion criteria (temporal perspective, number of selves and at least one of the policy events) were analysed using PDA.

Under the *second consideration*, selected texts should be widely read and have authority in the policy debate (Hansen, 2006). For a text to be 'widely read' the text should be easily accessible and have "multiple citations in other texts" (Emejulu, 2010, p.32) that discuss the policy debate under study (Hansen, 2006). Emejulu's (2010) study outlined a minimum of three citations which "... signalled... that the text was important and needed to be read and considered for selection and

⁸² Sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.3 discuss this case study local authority.

⁸³ Section 3.5.2 discusses this in detail.

⁸⁴ *Managing Community Practice: principles, policies and programmes* (2013 2nd edition – 1st edition published in 2003).

⁸⁵ *The Politics of Civil Society: Big society small government* (2013 2nd edition; 1st edition titled *The Politics of Civil Society: Neoliberalism or social left?* and published in 2007).

⁸⁶ *Public Policy and the Community* (2011, 2nd edition – 1st edition published in 2003).

⁸⁷ How this study defines and operationalises 'widely cited' is detailed below.

⁸⁸ Entering the title of these books into the search engine of the *Community Development Journal* highlights, from this journal alone, a plethora of journal articles that cite directly from these sources.

⁸⁹ *Rethinking Community Practice: Developing Transformative Neighbourhoods* (2013).

analysis” (p.32), which this thesis replicates. For example, I regard Alcock (2010a) as widely read as it is cited by Taylor (2011a; 2012) and Dean (2013).

Judging whether a text ‘has authority’ is dependent on whether a particular text is regarded as “canonical” (Emejulu, 2010, p.32) within that particular genre, and whether the author of that text has “... the ability to *take responsibility and deploy power*” (Hansen, 2010, p.67; *original emphasis*). For example, Cameron’s (2010) ‘Big Society’ speech is canonical as it is widely referred to and cited as having legitimacy in official, wider political and marginal political debates concerning the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda (cf. Alcock, 2010a; Dean, 2013; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Cabinet Office, 2010c; Woodhouse, 2013; Council, 2010b; 2012d; Strategic Partnership, 2010; Parliament House of Commons, 2011). Cameron (2010) also has authority as it is a speech delivered by a prime minister who can take responsibility for, and deploy, a particular political position as he/she has the power to do so (Hansen, 2006).

Emejulu (2010) suggests it is not realistic for every selected text to fulfil all Hansen’s additional criteria, and counters that each text selected “... should meet at least one of the criteria and be balanced by the selection of other texts that fulfil the rest of the criteria” (p.28). This means a text that otherwise fits the core inclusion criteria but is not widely cited within the policy debate under study can still be included for analysis if it is accessible and/or the text (or author of the text) is regarded as having authority within its particular genre and/or policy debate under study. Nonetheless, it is important to include as many texts as possible that fulfil all inclusion criteria (Hansen, 2006). How all seventy-four selected texts fulfil each inclusion criterion is included as Appendix B.

Most of the texts chosen under the genres of key influences of national policy / guidance, national policies / strategies and academic books were widely read and available as they could be easily accessed or purchased online and were cited at least three times in other texts in the policy debate under study. For example, the selected chapters from Glasman *et al.* (2011) and Powell (2013) were not widely cited. The decision to include Glasman *et al.* (2011) was previously outlined. Powell’s (2013) inclusion was twofold: (i) it was positively reviewed as offering an informed and authoritative critique of the Coalition’s utilisation of ‘Big Society’ (cf.

Aitken, 2014; Murphy, 2014; Citizen's Income Trust, 2015); and (ii) his previous work had focused on community development in the New Labour era (Powell, 2007; Powell & Geoghegan, 2002; Powell & Geoghegan, 2006; Geoghegan & Powell, 2009) and was widely cited within the community development field (cf. Brown & Scullion, 2010; Gaynor & O'Brien, 2012; Harlow & Jung, 2016; Kenny, 2016). Therefore, both the text and the author have authority with regards to expertise in 'Big Society' *and* community development.

Most of the texts chosen under the subcategories of key influences of national policy / strategies, national policies / strategies, local policy / strategies, academic books and academic journal articles have authority within their particular genre and the policy debate under study. For example, the eight selected texts released by the case study local authority council⁹⁰ have authority as councils have the responsibility and power to deploy particular political positions within their local authority. Only the twenty grassroots interviews could not be categorised as being widely read or having authority according to Hansen (2006) and Emejulu's (2010) criteria. It was important to this investigation to include the texts of key social actors actively involved in community development processes in the temporal perspective under study and within the same local authority as the local policies and strategies. This would ensure continuity, intertextuality and the stability of the discourses reproduced in both national and local debate. All interviews fit the core inclusion criteria, i.e. have clear articulations of identity, within the temporal perspective under study, part of the marginal political discourse intertextual model, and discuss at least one of the five selected policy events.

Finally, Hansen's (2006) *third consideration* is that a good post-structuralist discourse analyst should have a broad knowledge of the policy debate in question which comes from "...reading standard works on the history, processes, events and debates that constitute a policy phenomenon" (p. 83). The history, events and debates surrounding the Coalition programme were discussed in chapter two, along with the events and processes that have led to the current state of community development and its related practices. These factors strongly influenced the development of not only text selection for each of the *intertextual*

⁹⁰ These are fully listed, but anonymised, in Appendix A.

models, but also the overall research design. Additionally, as will be discussed in section 3.6.3, my identity as a researcher within community development processes, and my history as a community development practitioner and volunteer, brings a substantial amount of experiential knowledge of the community development field which also fulfils this consideration.

3.5.2 *Case study local authority*

The aim of this thesis is to determine not only what happened to community development in England during the Coalition's time in office, but also its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes. As this was a contemporaneous piece of qualitative research, inviting community development professionals, volunteers and local people to participate was crucial to determine how community development discourses from national and local policy were manifesting within community development processes. All participants had to be involved in community development processes within the same local authority as each local authority was producing their own local policy papers and strategies in response to the Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity. Additionally, there was not enough scope in this thesis to analyse the local policy papers / strategies and texts from participants from more than one local authority as I was already analysing texts from national official debate (key influences on policy, national policies / strategies) and national oppositional debate (academic texts). Therefore, the rationale for the analysis of local texts within one local authority was to provide an in-depth illustration of how national discourses of community development were being developed, re-articulated, enacted and, potentially, challenged at a local level in England.

To achieve this, this thesis adopted a descriptive and critical single-case study approach where the case under study was a selected local authority in the north-east of England. Stake (1995) defines a single-case study as: "the study of the peculiarity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within

important circumstances” (p.xi). A significant proportion of case study scholars adopt a post-positivist⁹¹ perspective (Gillham, 2000; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2009); although there have been recent moves to accommodate more relativist⁹² (Yin, 2014) and post-structural (Mohammed *et al.*, 2015) standpoints. Both Flyvbjerg (2006) and Mohammed *et al.* (2015) highlight the under-reported relationship between, for example, Foucault’s post-structural inquiry and his study of cases, such as prisons and asylums in western Europe; and that both case study and post-structuralist approaches “... are both concerned with the indistinct boundaries between the phenomenon and the contexts that constitute it” (Mohammed *et al.*, 2015, p.103). In contrast to both post-positivists and relativists however, post-structuralists specifically use case studies “... to explore the discursive contexts that shape a phenomenon” (ibid). This includes the study of how discourses and subjectivities are co-constituted within particular contexts which is compatible with the overarching conceptual framework of this thesis.

Both descriptive and critical single-case studies can be incorporated into post-structural research designs. Like post-structural analysts, descriptive single-case studies do not engage with the formation of causal hypotheses where the phenomena under study are un-problematically assigned cause and effect relationships (Yin, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Instead, descriptive single-case studies set out to provide a ‘thick’ and ‘deep’ level of detail and understanding of the case under study (Yin, 2009, p.22). Critical single-case studies are used to test a particular theoretical and/or analytical framework within an identified real-world context (Yin, 2014). Combined, a descriptive and critical single-case study is used in this investigation to test whether the five stages of PDA⁹³ can provide a ‘thick’ and ‘deep’ level of detail and understanding into how national discourses of community development are reproduced, re-articulated, challenged or enacted within one local authority in England; and what implications this has for key social actors actively involved in community development processes.

⁹¹ Like positivism, post-positivism argues that there is an objective reality external to the researcher. However, post-positivism deviates from positivism in acknowledging that how reality is understood can be constrained by the researcher’s conceptual tools. But, post-positivism does not include an understanding that reality is discursively constructed (Bryman, 2008; Hansen, 2006).

⁹² Relativism emerged from the linguistic turn of the early 20th century where the social is constructed through language and its rules. As a result, social reality is symbolically constructed and the theories that are trying to explain this reality are no more ‘real’ or ‘truthful’ than other texts (Mouzelis, 2008).

⁹³ Outlined in section 3.3.1.4.

3.5.3 *Selection of local authority and participants*

Both Yin (2014) and Simons (2009) highlight that reliance on public transport and other transportation barriers can narrow the choice of case the researcher can study in detail. Due to such travelling restrictions, I could only sustainably recruit participants from one of four local authorities in the north-east of England⁹⁴.

Meetings were held with key professionals from the volunteer centres – mainly attached to the council for the voluntary sector for that district – in each of the four local authorities to develop a snapshot of how the Coalition programme and its policy was influencing existing community development processes in those local authorities. From these meetings, details were also given of community networks and strategic partnerships in each of the local authorities, and key contacts for each.

A particular local authority was chosen as a single-case study for two reasons: (i) its demographics, and (ii) its changing policy and practice landscape. Regarding demographics, this local authority has a growing population of around 200 000 (NOMIS, 2017) and is historically Labour-led (Electoral Calculus, 2017). In 2010, Labour won 45 of the available 65 seats⁹⁵ (BBC News, 2010). This local authority has an unemployment rate above both the regional⁹⁶ and national⁹⁷ average, highlighting pockets of deprivation⁹⁸ (Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013; 2017; NOMIS, 2017). Additionally, in 2010, 10 000 people claimed to be receiving Employment Seekers Allowance or Incapacity Benefit, with 22% of those claiming Job Seekers Allowance younger than twenty-four years of age, and 28% of these having claimed for over a year (ONS, 2013). This is also above average for both England and the north-east of England (ibid). Regarding the working population, the median gross weekly pay of a full-time worker in this local authority, in 2010,

⁹⁴ This was also to facilitate interviews with participants in early-to-late evening time slots.

⁹⁵ The Liberal Democrats won the remainder of the seats in more affluent areas of the local authority district.

⁹⁶ North-east of England.

⁹⁷ England.

⁹⁸ Two of the community development projects that participated in this investigation (CP1 and CP3) are located areas that are in the 10% most deprived in England (NOMIS, 2017). The remaining community development project (CP2) is located in 20% of the most deprived areas in England (ibid).

was £68 lower than the national average (NOMIS, 2017). For women, weekly pay was also £51 less than the national average for women (ibid). Additionally, in 2010, the percentage of the working population in caring, leisure and other service occupations – particularly vulnerable to the public sector cuts – was 10.3% for this local authority, which is over 1% more than the average for both the north-east of England and England as a whole (ibid). This local authority also has the second lowest life expectancy rate in all the twelve districts of the north-east (ONS, 2015). As a result, in the timeframe under study there would be a significant demand for community development processes in this local authority.

In 2011, it was claimed that 26.8% of the total working population in this local authority were public sector employees, which is 3.8% above the national average (The Guardian, 2011). Relatedly, in 2010 statistics show that 3.5% of the total working population in this local authority were employed in the third sector, which is also above the regional and the national average (Kane, Mohan & Rajme, 2010). With regards to volunteering, it is estimated that volunteers in the region deliver 10.8 million hours of work each year “... at a value of £78m to £131m” (Newcastle Council for the Voluntary Sector (CVS), 2017, np). It is also estimated that 62% of the NE’s volunteers “... are currently, or have been, service users” (ibid). However, in 2010, the recorded numbers of volunteers in this local authority were below both the regional and the national average (Kane, Mohan & Rajme, 2010).

With regards to the changing policy and practice landscape, informal discussions with key social actors at meetings and networking events suggested that both community-based policy and practice within this local authority were blurring the distinctions between community development and volunteering. This had been occurring since mid-2011 and volunteering was increasingly portrayed as the linchpin of community development rather than one of a number of facets. Following these conversations, I read key local policies and strategies, post-May 2010, from this local authority⁹⁹. A substantial number of these texts, both explicitly and implicitly, stipulated that increasing the number of volunteers, rather than community development infrastructure such as paid community development

⁹⁹ Some of these documents – which filled the inclusion criteria – were analysed using post-structuralist discourse analysis.

professionals, would lead to stronger communities. Also pivotal was that there had been recent name change of the local Community **Development** Strategy (2008) to the local Communities **Together** Strategy (2011) (emphasis added), of which the latter was much more volunteer, and volunteering, focused.

Once the local authority was chosen as the single-case to be studied, key policies and strategies were selected according to Hansen's criteria¹⁰⁰. The sampling approach adopted to recruit participants was opportunistic as I continued to attend and participate in steering groups, community networks and meetings with both the statutory and voluntary sector for approximately eleven months to identify well-known and well-integrated gatekeepers to potential community development processes. Once these gatekeepers were identified, purposive sampling was utilised to recruit participants from community development processes that fit the inclusion criteria outlined in *figure 3.11*:

Figure 3.11 Inclusion criteria for the selection of community development processes to be studied

1. Committed to the values and principles of community development practice (i.e. promoting active participation of socially excluded groups, empowering local people, and the promotion of both equality and social justice);
2. Contained a combination of community development professionals, volunteers and local people, numbering at least six in total who would be interested in taking part;
3. Be financially secure throughout the duration of data collection to ensure data was collected in full;
4. All participants would likely remain involved with the community development process throughout the data collection period;
5. That each community development process selected had a different focus, size and management structure.

There were six community development projects in this local authority that fit the first four criteria. All six projects could not be included in this study as this would involve primary data collection with at least thirty-six participants due to the minimum requirement of six participants from each community development project. Including the twenty-one academic texts analysed, this would have

¹⁰⁰ Discussed in detail in section 3.5.1.

resulted in at least fifty-seven texts analysed under the marginal political discourse intertextual model in comparison to the thirty texts being analysed under official discourse intertextual model. In addition to this being unsustainable for a doctoral investigation – especially as at least thirty-six of these texts would involve primary data collection – it was also important to the research design to have a balanced debate between official discourse and marginal political discourse to not *privilege* certain types of knowledge, and genres, above others (Hansen, 2006). As a result, the fifth inclusion criterion was added to try to encapsulate the breadth of community development processes in this local authority and to potentially illustrate how some models and practices of community development were re-articulating differently in response to official discourse. Preference was given to recruiting three community development projects where one project was run by statutory professionals, one by voluntary and community sector (VCS) professionals who received some local government funding, and one by grassroots activists who were funded independently from local and central government. This would ensure that different models and practices of community development were empirically included in this investigation. Three community development projects were selected and twenty participants were interviewed in total. The rationale for gathering data using one-to-one interviews is discussed in section 3.5.4. All interviews were conducted between May and December 2013.

The first community development project (CP1) selected is a specialist youth project that operated out of a locally-run community centre managed by a committee. This large community centre building was leased free of charge by the local authority council to the management committee at the time of interview. But, this council was still financially responsible for maintenance issues. At the time of interview, there were plans for the board of trustees to independently manage the lease from the council within the next three years by undertaking a community asset transfer. This specialist youth project was chosen as it was well-known but also under increasing pressure of closure unless the project could be solely volunteer-run. Two community development professionals salaried by the local authority council agreed to participate in this research project. At the time of interview, one of the workers was full-time and managed the overall community development work that took place throughout the premises, and the other worked part-time in youth service provision also within the premises. Both of these

professionals identified as community development workers but are no longer working with the project due to the cuts. Two lead volunteers were also interviewed – one was the chairperson of the management committee who has been involved with the specialist youth project since its inception in 2003; and the other had been a service user at the project and had returned to the project as a young adult volunteer. Four service users were also recruited, with one also undertaking 'peer support', i.e. transitioning towards volunteering within the project. All of the service users were under the age of 18.

The second community development project (CP2) selected is a one-stop-community-shop managed by a board of trustees. This project was initially run by local volunteers but had received community development support from a region based charity since 2009. At the time of interview, there were two part-time community development workers who had been involved with the project for over two years. They were employed by the region-based charity but were responsible for securing funding for their own salaries and the maintenance and expansion of the provision within the one-stop-community shop which, in 2013, totalled in excess of ten projects. This one-stop-community-shop was dependent on volunteers assisting with the delivery of – and in some cases solely running – these projects. The vast majority of the local people who used the services at these premises were from that local estate but were not limited to this. The two community development professionals identified themselves as community development workers and agreed to be participants, as did four volunteers; three of whom were also local people who used the services at the premises. None of the participants were under 18 years old and one adult could be regarded as vulnerable due to recurring mental distress.

The third community development project (CP3) was a solely volunteer-run community advocacy and rights-based provision for children and adults with a specific special educational need and their parents / carers. At the time of interview, the project received no local or central government funding and was solely funded through fundraising and small, independent grant provision. This community development project initiated in 2011 by two local residents who were still involved with the project at the time of interview. Although both of these founders were working with this community development project in a purely voluntary capacity, their overall roles were managerial and would have been

undertaken by paid professionals in similar organisations. Both saw community development as an integral part of their role and thus were recruited to participate but, unfortunately, only one was able to due to unforeseen circumstances. The founder who was interviewed is no longer involved with this project due to a stress-related mental breakdown as a result of this role. Four additional long-term volunteers agreed to participate who had varying duties within the organisation. One of the volunteers was also a service user of one of the parent / carer-support groups. One service user was accessing a parent / carer-support group and had previously used the advocacy services available within CP3. No participant was under 18 years old and one adult could be regarded as vulnerable due to recurring mental distress.

This single-case study is therefore an embedded single-case study with three subunits of analysis (CP1, CP2, CP3). Yin (2014) argues that subunits can often “... add significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing insights into the single case” (p.58). However, Yin (2014) warns that overly focussing on subunits can lead to the case being side-lined as an object of inquiry. The inclusion and analysis of all texts collected from the three community development projects is to determine how the national discourses of community development were reproducing, re-articulating and being enacted in, potentially, contrasting ways across one local authority in England through analysing community development processes that differed in structure, objectives and funding. These differences in the community development projects due to structure, objectives and funding sources would potentially lead to the emergence of dominant, marginalised *and* silenced discourses across this local authority. Therefore, the local authority is the case under study, not the individual community development projects.

3.5.4 One-to-one interviews

Collecting primary data from research participants is unusual under Hansen’s PDA methodology as this methodology was designed for the analysis of secondary data (Hansen, 2006). Nevertheless, undertaking primary research with social actors from community development processes is not discordant with Hansen (2006) as

the marginal political discourse intertextual model includes texts representing social actors from non-governmental organisations who have "... marginal discursive power" (p.63). Therefore, social actors participating in community development processes are "... potential actors to consider" (ibid) under this intertextual model.

The objective of primary data collection was to determine which discourses of community development were permeating within the three selected community development projects in the case study local authority, and which subject positions the participants were adopting in these projects. This involved analysing the *discursive encounters* between community development professionals, volunteers and local people within each community development project to discern how each participant awarded particular distributions of discursive and political power to themselves and others. According to Hansen (2006), these awards of power would assign classifications of *inferiority* or *superiority* on to particular subject positions. It was unlikely that the participants would frankly discuss these issues in a focus group environment. It would also have been ethically dubious to conduct such a focus group as it could have led to the breakdown of relationships within each project and, resultantly, caused harm to the participants (Edwards & Holland, 2013). For these reasons, one-to-one interviews were chosen as the data collection method with all participants.

One-to-one interviews are regarded as one of the most widely used research methods in qualitative research and are "... a central resource for social science" (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p.1; Gillham, 2005; Yin, 2003). One-to-one interviews are also used in postmodernist and post-structuralist research and can illuminate how "... individual subjectivity is constructed, and how 'internal' experiential truth is understood" (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p.1; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). One-to-one interviews typically range on a continuum from unstructured to structured (Bryman, 2001; Edwards & Holland, 2013; May, 2001). Structured, or focussed, interviews are standardised interviews with set questions being asked in a set order to all the participants in the research process with little flexibility for the interviewer and the interviewee (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Whereas unstructured, or unfocussed, interviews are more open-ended and allow the participants to more freely discuss broad subjects chosen by, predominantly, the researchers (May, 2001; Gillham,

2005). Semi-structured interviews are similar to structured interviews in that they ask all participants the same core questions, but there is more scope in semi-structured interviews to 'probe' participants when "... the interviewer judges there is more to be disclosed at a particular point in the interview" (Gillham, 2005, p.70). Semi-structured interviews are widely used in qualitative research due to the advantages of being both flexible and structured; which can yield more 'rich' data than structured interviews and more comparable data than unstructured interviews (Gillham, 2005; May, 2001). Due to these advantages, the interview schedule developed for the participants was semi-structured. This schedule is included as Appendix F.

The focus of each interview was the subject position(s) that the participant adopted within the community development project and their understandings and representations of other available subject positions within the project. Additionally, the interview schedule also included questions about each participant's history of involvement with other community development projects; how they became involved with the selected community development project, and how their role in this project had developed over time. These questions were designed to ascertain which discourses of community development were permeating in the community development projects according to the availability of particular subject positions within each project. The semi-structured interviews were scheduled to last for forty-five minutes and were audio-recorded with a dictaphone pending the informed consent of each participant. A non-personalised copy of the invitation letter, the information sheet and the consent form sent to all the participants are included as Appendices C, D and E. This chapter now turns to discussing the ethical issues involved with undertaking both semi-structured interviews and a discourse analysis methodology.

3.5.5 Ethical considerations

Kvale (2007) states that research "is saturated with moral and ethical issues" (p.23). Diener and Crandall (1978) separate these moral and ethical issues into

four areas: harm, informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception. The next four sections outline how I addressed these issues; adhering to both Northumbria University's research ethics protocol (Northumbria University, 2014) and the British Sociological Association's statement of ethical practice (BSA, 2012).

3.5.5.1 Harm to participants and harm to researcher

All interview studies have consequences for the researcher, the participants and for "... the larger group they belong to as well" (Kvale, 2007, p.28). These are usually categorised as 'harm' to both the researcher and the researched (ibid; BSA, 2012; Gillham, 2005; May, 2011). Harm in research is broadly defined as negative physical, psychological and/or emotional effects as a result of the research process (Smith & Richardson, 1983; Bryman, 2001; Kvale, 2007). To minimise harm to myself, the participants, Northumbria University and the community development projects, I submitted ethical protocol to the Northumbria University Ethics Committee for approval. Writing this protocol gave me foresight into the ethical and moral issues that could potentially arise with each stage of this investigation. In particular, with conducting and analysing the one-to-one interviews. I was granted ethical approval in March 2013.

Both Gillham (2005) and Kvale (2007) highlight that the integrity of the researcher – which includes their subject knowledge, professional experience, professional values and commitment to honest and transparency – is significant to ensure that research is conducted in an ethical and moral manner. I am a qualified and accredited youth and community development worker with considerable experience working with diverse social groups; especially those categorised as socially marginalised or vulnerable. The key values of both youth work and community development include the promotion of: dignity, human rights, equality, empathy, participation and empowerment¹⁰¹ (Banks, 2011; Gilchrist, 2009). These values and experiences helped me to create and maintain a research environment

¹⁰¹ As outlined in section 2.2.1,

that would minimise harm to both the researcher and researched. I also did not overly recruit vulnerable adults¹⁰² and young people under the age of eighteen. However, all the community development projects included adults and young people who self-classified as disabled due to mental distress, physical impairment or additional learning needs. All the community development projects also ran at least one youth service. It would not, therefore, have been representative of the community development projects to omit either young people or vulnerable adults from participation in this investigation.

Edwards and Holland (2013) state that interviews should be held in locations that are "... available for use, convenient and accessible to participant and researcher, where you could avoid interruption and make an adequate sound recording of the conversation" (p.43). All the interviews were conducted in private at the premises of the community development project they were involved in. To minimise harm to myself and the participants at least one additional member of staff from the project was also present in the building if any incident did arise. In addition, my principal supervisor and the manager of each project were given an interview schedule overview that outlined the specifics of each interview, i.e. the time and the location, and my mobile telephone number to contact me before and after each interview if required.

The researcher must consider the possibilities – and likelihood - of an imbalance of power between the researcher and the researched, and reduce this as much as possible (Gillham, 2005; Kvale, 2007; May, 2001; Yin, 2014). I spent about eight hours at each project before initiating data collection. This did not effectively diminish the power imbalance on its own, but it did assist the formation of positive relationships with the participants prior to the interview. As a result, all participants came across as comfortable and open in their interviews.

¹⁰² As defined by the Mental Capacity Act 2005 and Northumbria University (2014).

3.5.5.2 Informed Consent and Confidentiality

Kvale (2007) states that informed consent "... entails informing the research subjects about the overall purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design, as well as... informing them about their right to withdraw from the study at any time" (p.27). All participants received a personalised invitation letter, information sheet and consent form at least one week prior to the scheduled interview¹⁰³. These provided my contact details, those of my principal supervisor and my role at Northumbria University if they had any additional questions. Informed consent was then gained from each participant after a short discussion about the content of the information sheet prior to the commencement of the interview. All participants were asked if they would like me to read out the entire content of the information sheet in case anyone had difficulties with reading. All were briefed that they could terminate the interview and leave the premises at any point if desired.

All participants were also individually invited to a debrief session to discuss the analysis of the interview once completed. Debrief sessions are typically utilised in research for two reasons: (i) to provide the participant an opportunity to give feedback on the research process; (ii) for validation where the interviewer can gain the participant's perspectives on their analysis of the interview (Paterson & Scott-Findlay, 2002). All agreed to this debrief session, approved the analysis undertaken and gave final consent for this analysis to be included in the thesis¹⁰⁴.

The participants of two of the selected community development projects were aged eighteen or over thus could provide informed consent on their own behalf (Kvale, 2007; Northumbria University, 2014). Four participants from the remaining community development project were under eighteen and informed consent was given by both the young people and their parents / guardians (Northumbria University, 2014). I asked all participants for feedback on the content and presentation of the invitation letters, information sheets and consent forms. All, including some of the parents / guardians, commented that they were

¹⁰³ See Appendices C, D and E.

¹⁰⁴ A copy of one of these debrief sessions is included as Appendix K.

straightforward and helpful. Also, prior to the commencement of the interview the participants were asked to give a sound-bite of what they thought the purpose of my research was. This helped me to assure that I had been transparent about the aims and purpose of the research (Kvale, 2007). Being transparent is also crucial in ensuring trust and confidence from the participants and is important when undertaking discourse analysis methodologies¹⁰⁵.

Kvale (2007) states that confidentiality in research "... implies that private data identifying the subjects will not be reported" (p.27). In addition, the BSA's statement of ethical practice (2012) requires that both confidentiality and anonymity must be honoured for each research participant unless there are specific and justifiable reasons otherwise. The participants were anonymised by giving them pseudonyms to solely reflect the community development project they were involved with and their role within it, i.e. CP1_Prof1 (community project 1, professional 1). In addition, the names and locations of all three community development projects are not specified throughout this thesis, and the local authority is also anonymised. Therefore, the anonymity of the participants was upheld throughout the research process.

3.5.5.3 Privacy and Data Protection

Gillham (2005) states that as participants give the researcher personal information, then "... for legal as well as ethical reasons [the participants] need to agree and understand how this information is stored and used" (p.13). All data collected was in compliance with the Data Protection Act (1998) where all participants' data should only be recorded and processed:

- with the express permission of the individual to which it relates
- for the purposes for which the person gave their permission
- retained for as long as necessary to execute that purpose

¹⁰⁵ This is discussed further in sections 3.5.5.4 and 3.6.2.

All consent forms and interview transcripts were locked away in space that I can only access; and both the digital recordings of the interviews¹⁰⁶ and the transcripts were stored on my u: drive at Northumbria University which is username and password protected. After completion of the thesis, hard copies of all data will be disposed of securely. Electronic copies of data will continue to be password protected and stored for up to a period of five years after completion of the study (Northumbria University, 2014). Names and specific details of the community development project will be kept confidential and will not appear in any printed documents. The confidentiality of the participants was thus upheld throughout the research process.

3.5.5.4 Deception and Transparency

Criticisms regarding the ethics of interviewing for discourse analysis have focussed on the deception that can occur with regards to the real aim and purpose of this type of research (Hammersley, 2014). However, the participants were aware that it was their role within the community development project and their understandings of the aims and objectives of this community development project that were under study¹⁰⁷. In addition, when the PDA of each interview was completed, analysed and converted into an identity web of binaries, a debrief session was undertaken with each participant to comment and reflect upon the analysis. All of the participants agreed, overall, with the analysis undertaken and each participant was satisfied with the time and space they were given to reflect on the analysis with the researcher.

Relatedly, Gillham (2005) and Kvale (2007) state that transparency throughout the research process is crucial to avoid both harm and deception. Due to the socio-economic and political climate of public sector cuts, I felt it was in the best interests of the participants – and Northumbria University's reputation – to

¹⁰⁶ The digital recordings were then deleted from the dictaphone after transcription.

¹⁰⁷ See section 3.5.5.2.

explicitly state that my involvement with each community development project would not lead to increased funding opportunities. One participant asked if my involvement with their community development project in a research capacity could be shared in an annual report and I only agreed to this once myself, the university and the specifics of the thesis aim and objectives were anonymised.

Gillham (2005) advises against the formation of quasi-therapeutic relationships where "... a research interviewer's ability to listen attentively may also in some cases lead to quasi-therapeutic relationships, for which most research interviewers are not trained" (p.28-29). Each community development project was experiencing tumultuous and stressful times due to the socio-economic and political climate; particularly affecting the participants with responsibility for obtaining funding or whose salaries were dependent on this funding. For these reasons I had to ensure that I did not adopt an overly friendly and confiding tone in the interviews and debriefs that would encourage "inappropriate disclosures" (ibid, p.11). In addition, the participants could have regretted these disclosures afterwards and asked to withdraw from the study.

To ensure a lack of deception and transparency each participant will receive a summary document of the findings once the final copy of this thesis has been submitted, examined and signed off as successful. If the participant is no longer with that particular community development project, I will make all the necessary attempts to contact them so they can receive a copy of the summary. The participants were also briefed during informed consent that the council and the CVS in the local authority under study would also be given copies of the summary¹⁰⁸, but that each participant's name and the specifics of the community development project would be protected so that they could not be identified. This chapter now turns to the methodological issues of this investigation.

¹⁰⁸ This summary will not include that CP2 is directly named in one of the LA policy texts analysed – see section 5.2.1.1.

3.6 Methodological Issues

3.6.1 *Limitations of methodology and methods*

Both discourse analysis and discourse analysis methodologies have sustained considerable criticism since their inception (cf. Antaki *et al.*, 2002; Parker & Burman, 1993; Della Faille, 2014). Della Faille (2014) highlights that "... the language dimensions of the analysis of conflicts is not unanimously accepted" (p.62), especially amongst Marxists who claim that the study of texts has diverted attention from materiality and 'real' social issues such as poverty and class war (cf. Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Shrestha, 1997; Veltmeyer, 2001). Supporters of both discourse analysis and discourse analysis methodologies counter-argue that changing the order of discourse is crucial for societal transformations and progressive social change, and that "... the materiality of life conditions is possible only if discursive transformations take place" (Ziai, 2016, p.213; Hansen, 2006; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Both critical discourse analysis and PDA are actually rooted in Marxism but problematise Marx's economic determinism and fixation on social class; therefore, regard other sociocultural factors, such as gender and 'race', as important as social class in the analyses of 'real' social issues (Baxter, 2002; Fairclough, 1989; 1992; Hansen, 2006; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

Research conducted using PDA and PDA methodologies is also critiqued for being "indecipherable" (Herschinger, 2016, p.338) to those not *au fait* with post-structuralism, discourse analysis or discourse analysis methodologies (ibid; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Inayatullah, 1998; Sarup, 1993). Arguably, this barrier has been overcome in the international relations field due to a proliferation of accessible and methodical studies building upon each other's work¹⁰⁹, putting PDA and PDA methodologies at the forefront where most students in this field are required to study and use these frameworks (Herschinger, 2016; Merlingen, 2013). Research that utilises PDA and PDA methodologies is undertaken in related disciplines and fields such as sociology, political science, education and development studies (cf. Baxter, 2002; Della Faille, 2014; Howarth, Norval &

¹⁰⁹ See how Hansen (2006) builds upon the work of Connolly (1991) and Campbell (1992) in section 3.2.3.

Stavrakakis, 2000; Howarth & Torfing, 2005; Ziai, 2016). Still, this is marginal in comparison to international relations. Like the international relations field, researchers drawn to using PDA and PDA methodologies should build on existing PDA studies within their discipline or field to produce accessible and methodical research upon which others can build. By building on Emejulu's (2010) study, I hope to provide additional tools to 'de-mystify' both PDA methodologies and PDA; and assist researchers in the fields of political sociology, social policy and community development to undertake such future research with confidence and clarity.

The most sustained critique against discourse analysis and discourse analysis methodologies is that 'anything goes'; particularly when utilised within relativist paradigms and methodologies where "... it becomes difficult, using this model, to elaborate a position where it is possible to privilege or maintain a commitment to one reading than another" (Parker & Burman, 1993, p.163). This is accentuated with PDA and PDA methodologies where critics have argued that "... poststructuralism denies the necessity and the use of evidence, thus being incapable of epistemological and methodological rigour" (Keohane, 1989; Katzenstein *et al.*, 1999; cited in Herschinger, 2016, p.337). These critiques have been counterbalanced by supporters of both (P)DA and (P)DA methodologies who argue that both quality and rigour of analysis can be achieved by (post-structural) discourse analysts fulfilling some "basic requirements" (Antaki *et al.*, 2002, p.1; Diez, 2014; Emejulu, 2010; Hansen, 2006; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Antaki *et al.* (2002) stipulate that there are six specific weaknesses within discourse analytic research and that discourse analysts should set out to overcome these to fulfil basic requirements. These are listed in *figure 3.12*:

Figure 3.12 Antaki *et al.* (2002) six weaknesses in discourse analytic research

1. Under-analysis through summary;
2. Under-analysis through taking sides;
3. Under-analysis through over-quotation or through isolated quotation;
4. The circular identification of discourses and mental constructs;
5. Under-analysis through false survey;
6. Analysis that consists of simply spotting features.

For Antaki *et al.* (2002), *under-analysis through false survey* is "... a danger of extrapolating from one's data to the world at large" (p.15), and *under-analysis through spotting* is particularly common in conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis that "... demands an attention to the details of utterances" (p.16). Utilising a PDA methodology avoids both issues due to adopting PDA over both CDA and CA; and my research design and text selection criteria illustrates that the findings from this study can only be appropriately applied to community development practices in England. However, the remaining four criticisms are potentially valid in my particular operationalisation of a PDA methodology and PDA, and I outline how I counterbalanced these in turn.

For Antaki *et al.* (2002) *under-analysis through summary* most commonly occurs when the discourse analyst draws too much attention "... to certain themes, pointing to some things that the participant(s) said, and not to other things... (which) might prepare the way for analysis, but it does not provide it" (p.9). In the first stage of PDA, the *entirety* of each of the seventy-four individual texts was analysed. This was achieved by splitting each statement / utterance / sentence into binary pairs, demarcating which term was *privileged* and which *marked*, and these were quantified numerically to determine the most *privileged* and *marked* signifiers (*nodal points*) and other common binaries within each text. Only binaries not related to the composition of basic discourses, dominant practices, oppositional practices or identity formation were excluded from the findings chapters.

With regards to *under-analysis through taking sides*, Antaki *et al.* (2002) point out that "... sympathy or scolding (either explicit or implicit) are not a substitute for analysis" (p.9) with regards to the texts studied; and that this is most common when the analyst is "... positioning themselves vis-à-vis their data" (*ibid.*). As is discussed in section 3.6.3, I did position myself within this investigation but I did not overly align myself or focus on – as a critical discourse analyst potentially does – marginalised or silenced discourses and subject positions. PDA can illustrate how competing discourses and subject positions are *relationally constituted* within discursive fields of knowledge. Therefore, it is difficult to fixate on particular discourses or subject positions *without* commenting on the discourses and subject positions they are relationally positioned against. As a result, the entire spectrum of subject positions available for community development professionals,

volunteers and local people to adopt within the dominant, marginalised and silenced discourses of community development are reproduced in this study.

For Antaki *et al.* (2002) *under-analysis through over-quotation or through isolated quotation* is "... often revealed by a low ratio of analyst's comments to data extracts" (p.11). This particular issue was overcome by presenting the analysis of the text *first* (through the presentation of *nodal points*, *floating signifiers* and *binary pairs*¹¹⁰) and **then** backing up this analysis with the appropriate quotations. I then provide clarification for the reader as to what these practices represent within the policy debate under study and their implications. The intertextual links between the analyses of the different texts, I also document and explain.

With regards to *the circular identification of discourses and mental constructs*, Antaki *et al.* (2002) stipulate that a discourse analyst sometimes does not take care to substantiate the claims they make "... as if a series of quotes is sufficient in itself to show the existence of the repertoire, ideology or discourse" (p.12). This thesis was not concerned with *proving* that one discourse was more dominant than another by compiling relevant quotes as evidence to substantiate this claim. Instead I was interested in which discourses were being constituted throughout the discursive field of community development in England and what implications these discourses have for the availability of subject positions involved within community development processes. Therefore, this thesis focussed on how community development was *transforming* throughout this five-year span and evidenced these transformations through the construction and reproduction of dominant, marginalised and silenced discourses and their associated subject positions. When a series of quotes are given as examples in chapters four, five and six, it is to demonstrate the *intertextuality* of the dominant / oppositional practices and subject positions within each discourse. Once again, the analysis had already been presented before the appearance of these quotes and explanations are provided for the reader as to how the practices illustrated in these quotes illuminate aspects of the policy debate under study.

Another limitation is that I incorporate original primary data collection - twenty semi-structured qualitative interviews - into Hansen's (2006) PDA methodology

¹¹⁰ Also referred to as dominant or oppositional practices depending on which discourse was being illustrated.

which was designed for the analysis of secondary data (ibid). Hansen (2006) does not explicitly state that interview transcripts with social actors cannot be utilised as texts¹¹¹. A key consideration in the inclusion of primary investigation transcripts into a PDA methodology should be the discursive construction of the transcripts by both the participant *and* the researcher (Haworth, 2017). I selected the interview questions for each participant to answer, thereby potentially shaping how the discourses of community development and their resultant subject positions were being reproduced within each transcript. However, I have fully documented the process I undertook in selecting each of the participants and their relevance in fulfilling the research aim of this investigation¹¹². I believe I have demonstrated rigour and robustness in overcoming this potential barrier¹¹³.

3.6.2 *Credibility, authenticity and trustworthiness*

Within the social sciences there have been important debates about the appropriateness of the “... methodological trinity of reliability, validity and generalization” (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p.388) to establish the rigour and robustness of qualitative methodologies; and how both consistency and precision can be promoted “... without compromising the epistemological and methodological commitments of qualitative research” (Emejulu, 2010, p.44; Tobin & Begley, 2004; Nutt Williams and Morrow, 2009). Tobin & Begley (2004) argue that within qualitative inquiry “... a consensus on criteria for assessing quality of qualitative study remains elusive” (p.389). Yet, an increasing number of qualitative researchers have adopted the criteria of ‘credibility’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘trustworthiness’ – in place of reliability, validity and generalisation – to effectively evaluate the rigour and robustness of qualitative methodologies (Emejulu, 2010; Tobin & Begley, 2004; Nutt Williams and Morrow, 2009; Yin, 2014). I adopted these alternative criteria to assess the quality, logic and consistency of the PDA methodology implemented within this thesis.

¹¹¹ As detailed in section 3.5.4.

¹¹² See section 3.5.3 and refer to Appendix F which is a copy of the semi-structured interview schedule used with all participants.

¹¹³ Sections 3.6.2 and 3.6.3 demonstrate this in more detail.

Emejulu (2010) used credibility to assess the quality, logic and consistency of PDA used in her research, and defines credibility as "... the 'fit' between [my selected texts] and [my] representations of them" (p.44). I have documented at length my process and criteria of text selection so that the reader can determine whether these can be authenticated, and are reasonable and logical. Although it is possible that another researcher could isolate alternative discourses and subject positions from the same texts selected, what is most crucial is that "... an outside auditor can discover and follow the logic that took [me] from the initial raw data to the final product" (Rodwell, 1998; cited in Emejulu, 2010, p.45). As a result, this investigation can be evaluated to fulfil the criterion of 'credibility'.

The criterion of 'authenticity' is defined by Tobin & Begley (2004) as: "if researchers can show a range of different realities (*fairness*), with depictions of their associated concerns, issues and underlying values" (p.392). For my own research to be rigorously evaluated as 'authentic' it must aim to succinctly demonstrate the key ideas and stipulations of all authors of the texts "... by offering a considered and sophisticated discussion of their arguments" (Emejulu, 2010, p.45). Again, how I selected each text across a wide variety of genres according to specific criteria, and then how I analysed these texts using five stages of PDA is clear throughout this chapter. In addition, chapter two outlines the policy debate in which each author's ideas and opinions are rooted in; and my analysis links to this context to offer a sophisticated discussion of their arguments. Due to these prerequisites, my analysis can ultimately provide an "... even-handed representation of all viewpoints... [to] ensure that different constructions, perceptions and positions... emerge" (Rodwell, 1998; cited in Emejulu, 2010, p.45). The PDA methodology utilised within this investigation can thus be evaluated as fulfilling the criterion of 'authenticity'.

Nutt Williams & Morrow (2009) state there are three key categories of 'trustworthiness' that qualitative researchers are evaluated with: (i) integrity of the data; (ii) balance between reflexivity and subjectivity, and (iii) clear communication of findings. For Nutt Williams & Morrow (2009), the critical component of the integrity of data is "... a clearly articulated and referenced design or analytic strategy... and evidence that sufficient quality and quantity of data have been gathered" (p.578). Again, I have demonstrated throughout this chapter the PDA methodology I have adopted in this thesis; including the overall research design

and the five stages of PDA I operationalised to analyse the data to then determine the research aim, objectives and questions of this thesis. In addition, I illustrated how I selected seventy-four texts across five genres to analyse to ensure that the research aim, objectives and questions of this thesis would be achieved and answered¹¹⁴. Therefore, the PDA methodology used in this thesis, its research design and method of PDA can be evaluated to fulfil the first category of 'trustworthiness'.

This thesis' fulfilment of the second category of *balance between reflexivity and subjectivity*, which Nutt Williams and Morrow (2009) define as: "the balance... between what the participants say and the ways in which the researchers interpret the meaning of the words" (p.579), is discussed in section 3.6.3. The third category of *clear communication of findings* is not solely limited to the researcher being able to clearly articulate the findings of their research to the reader, but also involves the researcher having to demonstrate "why [the research] matters" (Nutt Williams & Morrow, 2009, p.580). This specific evaluation criterion is embedded in the overall evaluation process of this thesis where I demonstrate that this thesis fulfils the criterion of 'doctorateness' (Trafford & Leshem, 2008). As will be apparent by reading this entire thesis, I have provided a justification of why my research aim, objectives and research questions are pertinent; and why undertaking a PDA methodology to achieve / answer these results in an original contribution in knowledge that has important recommendations for the community development field in England. This thesis can therefore be evaluated to fulfil these two categories of 'trustworthiness'.

3.6.3 *Reflexivity and positionality*

Reflexivity has gained increasing prominence in the social sciences since the turn of the 21st century. This turn to reflexivity is commonly associated with a growing confidence that qualitative researchers have in positioning themselves within the research they are doing, and that there are increasing tools at the qualitative

¹¹⁴ In section 3.5.1.

researcher's disposal to reflect on the 'messiness' of the qualitative research process. The researcher can then use these insights to enhance the overall quality of the research; often including a critical examination of the relationship between the researcher and the researched (cf. Bourke, 2014; Etherington, 2004; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012; Mosselson, 2010; Nutt Williams & Morrow, 2009). In addition, the researcher's adoption of a reflexive position within qualitative research can assist in the assessment of its credibility, authenticity and trustworthiness (Emejulu, 2010; Etherington, 2004; Nutt Williams & Morrow, 2009). In PDA and PDA methodologies, reflexivity also encompasses the relationship between the researcher and the discursive field they are studying (Hewitt, 2009). Researchers using PDA and PDA methodologies cannot be separated from the discursive field under study; hence the researcher needs to be explicit about how their own standpoint(s) has impacted on the conclusions and ideas generated within the research (Emejulu, 2010; Hewitt, 2009). It is therefore important to identify how my beliefs, values, experiences and socio-cultural factors could influence the 'messy' qualitative research processes undertaken due to my chosen methodology, to more fully understand how the conclusions of this investigation are reached.

This research has 'triggered' a range of subject positions, sometimes contradictory, I have identified with throughout; and have shaped my understandings of the data collected and analysed. My dominant and frequently enacted subject position is that of a white, (formerly) working-class, educated and Scottish woman who is researching community development and has significant experience working as both a professional and a volunteer in domestic (UK) and international (USA, Australia and Nicaragua) community development. I also adopted more marginal subject positions of an 'outsider' in the north-east of England, and as a lecturer / academic who could be perceived as having considerable theoretical knowledge of community development and authority due to my employment with Northumbria University during this investigation. I would adopt subject positions throughout the research process that would 'best fit' the circumstances. For example, to access and participate in steering groups, community networks and meetings within both the local authority statutory and VCS I was regularly introduced as an academic to others and therefore would adopt this subject position. Yet, when having informal discussions with potential gatekeepers I more regularly adopted the subject position of a qualified and

accredited community development professional as my experiential knowledge was more valued and *privileged* by some gatekeepers. Then, when getting to know the research participants at the community development projects, I regularly adopted the subject position of an 'outsider' who was interested in becoming involved in the project to learn about community development in this local authority. During data analysis, I drew upon all these subject positions at different points to use my particular range of experiences and knowledge to best 'make sense' of the emergent findings. This bestowed experiential insight into why people choose to adopt certain subject positions within particular environments, which I had previously not recognised in my professional practice as both a community development worker and a volunteer.

It is important to acknowledge that my more dominant subject position of an experienced community development professional is underpinned by a commitment to working with socially marginalised groups to achieve egalitarian and redistributive social justice. Therefore, I identify more with community development discourses that are committed to social justice and truly 'empower' the socially marginalised to overcome issues important to them in environments that may socially exclude them. The reader should take these considerations into account when evaluating the conclusions and recommendations that this thesis makes. But, it is important to note that this explicit recognition of my own position(s) does not override, or bias, the voices of the authors of the seventy-four texts included in this thesis. Nutt Williams & Morrow (2009) define reflexivity and subjectivity as: "the balance... between what the participants say and the ways in which the researchers interpret the meaning of the words" (p.579). Having critical awareness of my own standpoint and experiences has helped to 'bracket' these and focus instead on the emerging discourses and subject positions from the texts. This was illustrated when I undertook debriefing sessions with the research participants so they could comment and reflect on the analysis that had been undertaken. All participants agreed with the analysis and commented that it was a good representation of what had been discussed in the interview. I believe that both my positionality and reflexivity have augmented the overall quality of this thesis.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter establishes that this thesis has operationalised a theoretical, analytical and methodological framework all underpinned by a post-structuralist epistemology and ontology; and all share a post-structuralist conceptualisation of 'discourse'. Resultantly, this thesis reconceptualises community development in England as a *discursive field of knowledge* where competing discourses of community development 'fight' for hegemonic articulation. Also, this chapter explains how this thesis has operationalised key community development concepts as *empty* and/or *floating signifiers* which acquire meaning through their positioning to other signifiers, and that each community development discourse is likely to 'fight' to reproduce their preferred articulations of these signifiers. Further, this chapter provides a rationale for the adoption of a *one moment* research design and the selection process for the texts analysed to determine what happened to community development during the administration of the Coalition, and the implications of this for key social actors in community development processes. I also delineate the rationale for the choice of case to study, how I undertook primary data collection and the ethical considerations involved. Finally, this chapter responds to some of the main criticisms of (P)DA and (P)DA methodologies; and I outline how my focus on credibility, authenticity, trustworthiness and reflexivity has helped overcome such issues.

Overall, this chapter provides a comprehensible overview of the interconnected theoretical, analytical and methodological frameworks this thesis adopts; and provides an audit trail for readers to evaluate these. Using these frameworks, chapters four, five and six present the analysis of the seventy-four texts, to answer the following research questions: (i) what were the competing discourses of community development available in England between 2010 and 2015?; (ii) which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced?; and (iii) what subject positions were available within each discourse for professionals, volunteers and local people to adopt within community development processes? These chapters focus on the views of the authors of the selected seventy-four texts to ensure that my own voice and positionality does not bias the analysis. This thesis now turns to the first findings chapter to determine what competing

discourses of community development were available in national debate in England from May 2010 to May 2015.

Chapter 4 – National debate

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines three discourses of community development available across selected national official (key influences on policy and national policy / strategies) and oppositional discourse (academic debate) texts. These are the Enterprise, Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses. These discourses were established through the application of the first four of five stages of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA) detailed in section 3.3.1.4. Key binary pairs (dominant and oppositional practices), the stability of the signifiers involved in these practices, and the interconnections of these practices and signifiers across the national texts, within each of the three discourses, are illustrated in this chapter. This chapter also sets out to partially answer research questions one and two of this investigation: (i) what competing discourses of community development were available in England between 2010 and 2015?; and (ii) which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced? These questions are answered in this chapter from the findings across national official and oppositional debate only.

Section 4.2 focusses on the construction of the Enterprise discourse as the dominant discourse of community development. Next, section 4.3 centres on the development of the Transformation discourse as a marginal discourse of community development. Section 4.4 details the reproduction of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse as a silenced, but oppositional, discourse of community development. Section 4.5 then concludes this chapter by summarising the key findings.

4.2 The Enterprise discourse

The Enterprise discourse develops through the interconnections between two binary clusters. The first binary cluster – ‘*Big Society*’: *the responsabilisation of civil society and its citizens* – is detailed in section 4.2.1. Section 4.2.2 delineates the second binary cluster – *austerity, localism and enterprise*.

4.2.1 ‘*Big Society*’: *the responsabilisation of civil society and its citizens*

The first binary cluster of the Enterprise discourse is constituted through the intertextual links of the following binary pairs (dominant practices): **Big Society – Big State, social action – state action, citizen responsibility – government responsibility, community – government, volunteering – paid work, volunteering – community development and community organising – community development**; including the related *floating signifiers* of: ‘service provision only’, ‘neighbourhood’ and ‘civil society’. The **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice is first identified in Blond (2010c). Blond (2010c) praises David Cameron’s leadership of the Conservative Party prior to the formation of the Coalition government (Coalition) and his Hugo Young Memorial Lecture, delivered in November 2009, where Cameron “... privileged society above everything else” (p.289); to the extent that Blond calls it Cameron’s “‘big society’ speech” (p.290). Like Cameron (2009), Blond (2010c) posits the ‘Big State’ as *the* contemporary issue to be tackled in modern Britain. ‘Big Society’ is thus presented as a “game-changing” (ibid, p. 286) antithesis of the ‘Big State’.

This introduces a **Big Society – Big State** binary where the ‘Big Society’ signifier is *privileged* at the expense of the ‘Big State’ signifier. This binary is replicated across the official discourse released by the Department for Communities and Local Government (Cameron, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010g; 2012e; Woodhouse, 2013). These texts additionally *mark* the ‘Big State’ signifier by negatively associating it with the New Labour administration (1997-2010):

“... over the past decade, many of our most pressing social problems got worse, not better. It’s time for something different, something bold

- something that doesn't just pour money down the throat of wasteful, top-down government schemes. The Big Society is that something different and bold." (Cameron, 2010, np)

"In recent years, the [New Labour] state has taken a bigger and more interventionist role in society, thus increasing the burden of bureaucracy and removing decision-making from local communities. Not only has this stifled local initiative and enthusiasm, it has led to an overdependence on the state." (Woodhouse, 2013, p.6, *emphasis added*)

This *marking* of the 'Big State' signifier and its associations with the New Labour administration *privileges* the 'Big Society' signifier in official discourse; stabilising the **Big Society – Big State** binary as a dominant practice. New Labour is discredited in these excerpts as inefficient ("pouring money", "wasteful"), "top-down", "interventionist", bureaucratic ("increasing the burden of bureaucracy") and fostering dependency ("led to an overdependence on the state"). Although there is support for 'Big Society' in academic debate (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2012, Chanan & Miller, 2013a), this dominant practice does not consistently reproduce within these oppositional texts; which focus instead on individual aspects of the 'Big Society' policy agenda such as volunteering (Alcock, 2010a; Dean, 2013). A volunteering strategy under 'Big Society' emerges early in national policy:

"... by including volunteers in service delivery, we can increase the sense of ownership by the communities that access these services, and can improve community cohesion." (Cabinet Office, 2010e, p.9)

"... government will also support local causes by encouraging local people and businesses to offer their skills and time to support small scale local charities, voluntary organisations and community groups." (Cabinet Office, 2010a, p.10)

The first excerpt makes explicit connections between volunteering levels in communities and community cohesion, and sets out to increase the number of local people and businesses who volunteer in local communities to foster community cohesion. The second promotes a 'civic service' whereby civil servants are encouraged to use their skills to support civil society organisations to "... play their part in growing the 'Big Society'" (ibid, p.14). These highlight a *privileging* of

those who volunteer their time in civil society organisations over those who do not, which repeats across official discourse:

“The programme will do this by enhancing the ability of volunteer centres in mobilising significant numbers of volunteers in local areas. Space will be provided to rethink how volunteer opportunities and experiences are generated and designed in order to attract more volunteers from a wide demographic.” (Cabinet Office, 2012e, p.9)

“Each local community group within the selected areas will recruit at least one Active at 60 Community Agent, who will volunteer their time to help motivate, encourage and organise people within their own communities to become more active – physically, socially and mentally.” (Cabinet Office, 2011a, p.12)

Once again, volunteers are posited as promoting community cohesion and leading others to volunteer. Discussions of community development and the role of community development workers in promoting community cohesion are noticeably absent from this debate. Consequently, the ‘volunteering’ signifier is *privileged* and stable within the national official texts; with the ‘paid work’ signifier relationally *marked*:

“... we want people to play a bigger part in our society... and take action themselves - for instance, starting a new neighbourhood watch scheme, youth club or an after-school club if they realise that’s when most of the trouble begins.” (Cameron, 2010, np)

“By investing £24 million in 40 organisations we created new opportunities for over 500,000 new volunteers through the Social Action Fund. The new volunteers have been recruited to support charities and community organisations.” (Cabinet Office, 2013b, p.22)

“We will take a range of measures to encourage volunteering and involvement in social action, including launching a national ‘Big Society Day’ and making regular community involvement a key element of civil service staff appraisals.” (Woodhouse, 2013, p.5)

In these extracts paid work in communities is *marked* in relation to volunteering; with the paid work of professionals, such as youth and community work, reproduced as an activity that local people or salaried civil servants, as volunteers, can undertake unpaid instead. Again, community development is not explicitly discussed within national policy but the ‘community development’ signifier has

become implicitly associated with the *marked* 'paid work' signifier and is *marked* in relation to 'volunteering'. Two stable binaries therefore emerge as dominant practices within national official policy debate: **volunteering – paid work** and **volunteering – community development**; and both connect to the established **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice.

By early 2014, the **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice had all-but-disappeared from official discourse. This echoes in academic debate where the 'Big Society' policy agenda became less relevant in key debates concerning localism, public sector reform and community development (cf. Davoudi & Madanipour, 2013; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013; Burnell, 2013; Thornham, 2015). Social action was increasingly used to replace 'Big Society' and cover its terrain (Cabinet Office, 2015a). The 'social action' signifier first appears in Cameron (2010):

“And these are the three big strands of the Big Society agenda. First, social action. The success of the Big Society will depend on the daily decisions of millions of people - on them giving their time, effort, even money, to causes around them. So government cannot remain neutral on that - it must foster and support a new culture of voluntarism, philanthropy, social action.” (np)

In this excerpt, social action is central to the 'Big Society' agenda and is intertwined with giving time (volunteering) and money (philanthropy). This replicates throughout the official texts (Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010e; 2011a; 2013b; Woodhouse, 2013). Cameron (2010) claims that the previous New Labour government (1997-2010) had deterred social, local and civic action in communities; resulting in 'broken' Britain:

“For years, government has been about putting up barriers to local action, loading on the bureaucracy, piling on the forms, making life so much harder for people who want to make a difference.” (np)

The Coalition is positioning itself as the antithesis of the previous government (New Labour 'Other') through a **social action – state action** binary where New Labour negatively associates with excessive state action. For the Coalition, social action encompasses local and civic action, and is *privileged* at state action's expense:

“For a long time the way government has worked - top-down, top-heavy, controlling - has frequently had the effect of sapping responsibility, local innovation and civic action” (ibid, np)

This repeats throughout official discourse, stabilising and embedding the **social action – state action** binary as a dominant practice which consistently *privileges* ‘social action’ under the Coalition and *marks* ‘state action’ under the previous New Labour administration (Cabinet Office, 2010e; 2011a; 2012a; 2013b; Woodhouse, 2013). Social action is defined as:

“... people giving what they have, be that their time, their money or their assets, knowledge and skills, to support good causes and help make life better for all.” (Cabinet Office, 2010e, p.4)

But, the **social action – state action** dominant practice is partially de-stabilised due to mixed messages across official discourse:

“The main lesson is to acknowledge the limits of government. Social action is not something that government can, or should, compel people to do; it has to be built from the bottom-up.” (Cabinet Office, 2010e, p.5)

“We will be investing over £40 million in volunteering and social action over the next two years.” (Cabinet Office, 2011a, p.11)

“We’ll also work with communities to help identify and fund a community organiser for each area. These will be trained people who know how to stimulate and organise local support for – and involvement in – community action.” (Cameron, 2010, np)

Cabinet Office (2010e) establishes social action as a bottom-up activity fostered independent of the state. However, Cabinet Office (2011a) and Cameron (2010) stipulate that social action is nurtured by central government programmes and funds, i.e. the Social Action Fund and the Community Organisers Programme. The latter was introduced in section 2.4 and embodies the potential instability of the **social action – state action** dominant practice. Although the Community Organisers Programme generates social action (Cameron, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2013b), it is state-funded and endorsed; undermining the Coalition’s *marking* of the ‘state action’ and ‘paid work’ signifiers and their associations with the New Labour ‘Other’. It could therefore be argued that community organising is replacing community development as a state-funded community-based practice during this timeframe, with the Coalition supporting the infrastructure of the former at the expense of the latter. This is counterbalanced by claims that the Community Organisers Programme – and other central government funded social action projects – will become quickly self-sustaining:

“Action is most effective when it is led by the people it most concerns and is part of their day-to-day lives. But in a few cases direct and targeted action is required. When there is a clear case we will provide small amounts of funding necessary to kick-start action, *but with the clear expectation that such action will become rapidly self-sustaining.*” (Cabinet Office, 2012a, p.9; *emphasis added*)

“A new generation of 5,000 community organisers will be trained and support will be provided for the creation of neighbourhood groups, although in time these are expected to become self-funding.” (Cabinet Office, 2013b, p.32)

Whilst the **social action – state action** dominant practice is not consistently reproduced in academic debate, the Community Organisers Programme is and two binaries thus emerge: **community organising – community development** and **Alinskyan community organising – Coalition community organising**. As discussed in section 2.4, there is some tentative praise for the Community Organisers Programme (Mayo, Mendiweso-Bendek & Packham, 2012; Taylor, 2011a). However, there is also trepidation with oppositional texts differentiating between the Alinskyan community organising of Citizens UK and the ‘uneasy’ mixture of influences on Locality’s community organising, including the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda (Little, 2011; Bunyan, 2012; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Pattie & Johnson, 2011). Overall, Alinskyan community organising is relationally *privileged* against Coalition community organising in oppositional debate:

“But opinions differ as to how far the Cameron vision of community organising aligns with that of Saul Alinsky.” (Taylor, 2011a, p.260)

“...the early signs of the government-backed community organizing initiative would seem to indicate an approach that could be described more as a social action model of community development, than as an authentic community organizing approach.” (Bunyan, 2012, p.128)

These extracts raise two important critiques of Coalition community organising which have implications for community development: (i) the social action espoused by the Coalition is not regarded as an “authentic community organising approach”; and (ii) Coalition community organising has reportedly more in common with community development than Alinskyan community organising. Nevertheless, these articulations of Coalition community organising and its similarities to community development do not replicate in official discourse texts. Due to the

absence of community development from official debate, community development has little option but to re-shape its practices under the Enterprise discourse's banner of 'inauthentic' Coalition community organising or risk exclusion. As a result, Coalition community organising is likely to be influenced by community development practice during this timeframe; although it will be labelled as community organising due to the silencing of community development.

In official debate the **social action – state action** dominant practice connects to the **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** binary. The 'citizen responsibility' signifier first emerges in Blond (2010c), defined as: "associations of citizens [that] should run and manage their own commonly-held and commonly-used services" (p.286) with citizens and communities reproduced as "a diverse web to be engaged" (p.282) in the Coalition's 'game-changing' 'Big Society' (p.286). This link between 'citizen responsibility' and the 'locally-owned assets' signifier is discussed in the second binary cluster. This *privileging* of the 'citizen responsibility' signifier is steadily reproduced throughout official discourse:

"In his speech to the Conservative Party conference in October 2009, Mr Cameron spoke of the failings of "big government", of how it undermined "the personal and social responsibility that should be the lifeblood of a strong society", and of the need for "a stronger society...stronger communities... all by rebuilding responsibility." (Woodhouse, 2013, p.2)

"We share a conviction that the days of big government are over; that centralisation and top-down control have proved a failure. We believe that the time has come to disperse power more widely in Britain today; to recognise that we will only make progress if we help people to come together to make life better. In short, it is our ambition to distribute power and opportunity to people rather than hoarding authority within government. That way, we can build the free, *fair and responsible society* we want to see." (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.7, *emphasis added*)

In these extracts the New Labour 'Other' and its 'Big State' signifier are recalled through references to centralisation, failure and top-down control; and are associated with the 'government responsibility' signifier. Resultantly, government responsibility becomes *marked*; relationally *privileging* citizen responsibility and embedding the **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** binary as a dominant practice. The stability of this dominant practice is disrupted in academic debate. Dean (2013) advocates that the 'Big Society' policy agenda is rooted in neoliberalism as both volunteering and citizen responsibility are being promoted to

erode the welfare state and create compliant young people to potentially run community-based services. This deconstruction of the **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** dominant practice, and acknowledgments of neoliberal hegemony underpinning the policy debate, is present in other oppositional texts:

“Recent research... confirms what many have argued, which is that most people in community organisations are engaged in small-scale, informal activities. They do not want to run their own services – they just want services that are responsive to their needs, whoever provides them.” (Taylor, 2011a, p.260)

“Moreover, the right-wing approach of Eric Pickles, the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, goes further in rolling back the influence of the state. Hence, the abolition of the audit regime and the imposition of new modes of accountability focussed around individuals as ‘citizen auditors’ follows, much more, the Thatcherite tradition of the Conservative Party.” (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p.33-34)

“Self-responsibility and self-reliance are at the heart of the neo-liberal understanding of how society functions and the role of individuals within it. In the words of Margaret Thatcher (1987, 10) ‘...people must look after themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves, and then to look after our neighbour’... We are, therefore, made to think of ourselves as more resilient, self-managing and *enterprising individuals*, and less as citizens and members of society, i.e. a political community coincident with the national government.” (Davoudi & Madanipour, 2012, p.557; *emphasis added*)

These excerpts establish that ‘Big Society’ is rooted in the neoliberalism agenda of the Thatcher-led Conservative government (1979-1990) to create resilient, self-sufficient and *enterprising* individuals. The Coalition’s Enterprise discourse therefore evaluates as a ‘new’ mutation of neoliberal hegemony. Davoudi & Madanipour (2013) advance these connections by making clear distinctions between the Coalition’s reproduction of communities of place / neighbourhoods and a wider collective / society, where the former, in national policy debate, is an arena of “... technologies of agency and performance” (p.578), and the latter is “... a political community coincident with the national government” (p.577). This distinction is important as a **community – government** binary – with its associated *floating signifiers* of ‘neighbourhood’ and ‘civil society’ – is also prevalent within both official and oppositional debate.

The **community – government** binary, and the interconnected ‘neighbourhood’ *floating signifier*, is introduced in Blond (2010c). For Blond (2010c), communities of place / neighbourhoods are preferred sites of governance and service provision that are “... better suited to the needs of recipients” (p.282) than both local council services and central government initiatives. Both social action and citizen responsibility reproduce as crucial to build this local-level governance and associated service provision. These iterations are replicated across the official discourse texts; presented as central to the successful construction of ‘Big Society’:

“We need to create communities with oomph – neighbourhoods who are in charge of their own destiny.” (Cameron, 2010, np)

“Integration is achieved when neighbourhoods, families and individuals come together on issues which matter to them, and so we are committed to rebalancing activity from centrally-led to locally-led action.” (Cabinet Office, 2012a, p.2)

“... more communities than ever are coming together to make decisions and solve problems in their own way... Local people are playing a more active part in shaping their neighbourhoods and working together for the good of others.” (Cabinet Office, 2013b, p.33)

The Coalition’s *privileging* of geographical communities / neighbourhoods over state governance and intervention - and the consequential conflation of the signifiers of ‘community’ and ‘neighbourhood’ due to the narrowing of community to solely encompass communities of place within official discourse - is demonstrated in these excerpts. These dominant practices reproduce within academic debate:

“The Big Society is David Cameron’s core intellectual idea, aiming to devolve powers to communities... While still ill-defined, the policy encompasses a wide range of putative initiatives, ‘from devolving budgets to street-level, to developing local transport services, taking over local assets such as a pub, piloting open source planning, delivering broadband to local communities, generating their own energy...’ (Cameron 2010)”. (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p.30)

“Our case study city was also exploring down-scaling via a stronger emphasis on cross-service neighbourhood level.” (Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013, p.538)

“By working closely with new community organizers we can avoid a stupid competition; they mustn’t become another silo transplanted into

communities. We need them to become part of *neighbourhood alliances*, under the control of communities.” (Community Development Exchange, 2010; cited in Bunyan, 2012, p.127; *emphasis added*)

This conflation of ‘neighbourhood’ and ‘community’ signifiers is contested in other oppositional texts (Alcock, 2010a; Banks *et al.*, 2013a; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Powell, 2013a; 2013b). Banks *et al.* (2013a) define neighbourhoods as a “... community of place” (p.1), with community encompassing ... “communities of place, interest and identity” (ibid). Featherstone *et al.* (2012) argue that the narrowing of the ‘community’ signifier is:

“... a refusal [of the Coalition] to recognise the underlying heterogeneity of communities and an orientation towards the devolution of responsibility and service delivery rather than power and authority.” (p.181)

This claim echoes Davoudi & Madanipour’s (2012) distinctions between communities of place / neighbourhoods and a wider collective / society previously discussed, where the former is the preferred arena for the Coalition’s devolution of responsibility and service delivery from central and local government. The introduction of the ‘civil society’ *floating signifier* within both official and oppositional discourse also deconstructs the **community – government** dominant practice. Powell (2013a) suggests the ‘civil society’ signifier is also conflated with the ‘community’ signifier in national policy debate; and therefore relationally *privileged* against the *marked* ‘government’ signifier:

“For Conservatives, civil society is the antidote to the ‘broken society’” (p.11)

“The post-bureaucratic age demands that we change government so that it is more open to being driven by a vibrant civil society” (Conservative Party, 2008; cited in Powell, 2013a, p.11)

In both excerpts, Powell (ibid) posits that the Coalition is using civil society to underpin their ‘Big Society’ concept so that the articulations of both intertwine. Alcock (2010a) confirms this: “[The Office for Civil Society] also appeals to a concept that has a longer and wider pedigree than the Big Society” (p.386). Civil society is not explicitly defined in official discourse and thus is both an *empty* and a *floating signifier* where discourses compete to articulate its meaning accordingly. Although both Alcock (2010a) and Powell (2013a) *privilege* the ‘civil society’

signifier (“(p)erhaps civil society can provide a more enduring focus for the new government’s developing policy agenda” (Alcock, 2010a, p.386)), they also critique how it is being operationalised by the Coalition to discredit the ‘third sector’ signifier as part of the New Labour ‘Other’:

“The government now sometimes refers to [civil society] as ‘charities, social enterprises and voluntary organisations’. However... where are the mutuals or community groups? If this leads to some being missed off the policy agenda too, then one of the consequences of the new terminology could be the heralding of more divisive third sector politics.” (ibid)

“The Conservatives view the redefinition of voluntary organisations from third to first sector as reflecting a new social and political grammar... The Conservatives believe that ‘volunteers are the beating heart in Britain’s civil society’ (Conservative Party, 2008, p 20).” (Powell, 2013a, p.12)

These excerpts establish that the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda re-articulates the ‘civil society’ signifier to signify the third / voluntary and community sector (VCS) and the social action of citizens and business / statutory sector employees volunteering their time in their own neighbourhoods and localities. This contrasts with the narrow, and *marked*, articulations of the ‘third sector’ signifier under New Labour that was dominated by bureaucracy, inefficiency and state action. Community is also narrowed in these excerpts to signify neighbourhoods / communities of place.

4.2.2 *Austerity, localism and enterprise*

The second binary cluster of the Enterprise discourse constitutes through the intertextual links of the following dominant practices: **austerity / efficiency – overspending, austerity policy – Big Society policy driver, innovation – dependency / bureaucracy, voluntary & community sector services – public sector services, bottom-up service provision – top-down service provision, locally-owned assets – council-owned assets**, and **social enterprise – state funded services**; with the connected *floating signifiers* of: ‘business / voluntary sector coalition’, ‘private sector services’ and ‘employee-owned assets’. Two dominant practices emerge within national debate that focus on the Coalition’s

austerity policy: **austerity / efficiency – overspending** and **austerity policy – Big Society policy agenda**. The former is developed within official discourse whereas the latter is developed in oppositional discourse to critique and destabilise the former. The former emerges in Blond (2010b):

“It is hard to underestimate the challenge faced by our public services today. Not only must they contend with ever-increasing public expectations and an ever-evolving society, they must do this in the face of the biggest shock to public finances in living memory. With our annual budget deficit due to hit £178 billion in 2010, and quite possibly exceed that in subsequent years, the crisis is real.” (p.239)

“The major parties now agree that, in order to resolve the fiscal bind that the government finds itself in, the public sector needs to spend less.” (p.251)

Public sector efficiency reproduces here as superior to overspending. This repeats throughout official discourse (Cabinet Office, 2010f; 2010g; 2012e; 2013b) with austerity policy intertwined with efficiency. This constructs a *privileged* ‘austerity / efficiency’ signifier and a relationally *marked* ‘overspending’ signifier, and thus a stable **austerity / efficiency – overspending** dominant practice:

“The deficit reduction programme takes precedence over any of the other measures in this agreement. We will significantly accelerate the reduction of the structural deficit over the course of a Parliament, with the main burden of deficit reduction borne by reduced spending rather than increased taxes.” (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.15)

“The Government wants to unlock the huge potential for civil society to improve more lives. Our challenge is to reconcile that goal with the short-term need to reduce the deficit.” (Cabinet Office, 2012e, p.3)

The links between the ‘austerity / efficiency’ signifier and the already *privileged* signifiers of ‘civil society’, ‘Big Society’, ‘social action’ and ‘citizen responsibility’ are evident in these extracts, i.e. efficiency will be achieved through ‘Big (civil) Society’ with social action and citizen responsibility at its core. Overspending is discredited and its signifier associated with the *marked* signifiers of ‘government’, ‘state action’ and ‘government responsibility’ which are part of the New Labour ‘Other’. This allows the ‘austerity / efficiency’ signifier to remain relationally stable and *privileged* within official discourse.

This is challenged in oppositional discourse with the introduction of an **austerity policy – Big Society policy** dominant practice:

“Cameron’s hope that the Big Society will be the kind of legacy that could be compared with the 20th-century welfare state is a big ask, in particular as it will be expected to flourish at a time when austerity within public finances is greater than throughout much of the post-war welfare era.” (Alcock, 2010a, p.383)

“Within a year it became apparent that [Big Society] functioned in practice largely as a smokescreen for service cuts, even if it was genuinely believed in by the PM [Prime Minister] and some of his allies.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.30)

“The context of austerity... means, inevitably, that services will need to be cut and expenditure at the local level constrained. The Big Society provides a means for communities to retain services when they are cut from public expenditure; as some argue, getting services on the cheap.” (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p.36)

A clear argument develops within oppositional discourse that the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda was overtaken by austerity policy; with the former being used to fulfil the objectives of the latter, which included a commitment to neoliberalism and the roll-back of the state. This is challenged by the **innovation – dependency / bureaucracy** dominant practice that develops across both official and oppositional discourse. This dominant practice first develops in Blond (2010a), with the ‘innovation’ signifier *privileged* as key to the development of “... a new economic model to target those left behind... to create multiple centres of wealth and innovation and substantially reduce welfare dependency” (p.208). This reproduces that Britain is also ‘broken’ due to dependency on the welfare state, and *marks* the ‘dependency / bureaucracy’ signifier as part of the New Labour ‘Other’. This replicates across official debate:

“Central investment must be a catalyst for driving greater efficiency and reducing long-term dependence on the state.” (Cabinet Office, 2010f, p.7)

“... it is still the case that many public services are closed to new and innovative provision, either because of the barriers that have been erected to keep new entrants out, or because the bureaucracy forced onto existing providers stifles innovation before it can flourish.” (Cabinet Office, 2011c, p.39)

This incorporation of the ‘dependency / bureaucracy’ signifier into the New Labour ‘Other’ enables the ‘innovation’ signifier to be relationally *privileged*. This boosts the *privileged* status of the ‘austerity / efficiency’ signifier; with innovation and efficiency reproduced as interconnected processes that challenge both bureaucracy and dependency. The **innovation – dependency / bureaucracy** dominant practice is largely unchallenged in oppositional discourse, with some oppositional discourse texts *privileging* ‘austerity / efficiency’ and embedding the stability of this dominant practice:

“The Spending Review proposed more than simply cutting budgets. It also sought to foster innovation among local authorities and other bodies by reducing regulation and freeing up areas to use their budgets in new ways.” (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p.25)

“Indeed, civil society activity is seen not just as filling gaps left by a retreating ‘nanny state’ but also as offering innovative and independent alternatives to meeting social needs.” (ibid, p.32)

“Evidence from case study research shows the dominance of cost-cutting and efficiency measures, as in previous periods of austerity. But creative approaches to service redesign are also emerging as the crisis deepens, based upon pragmatic politics and institutional bricolage.” (Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013, p.533)

Once again, the ‘Big State’ is referenced (“regulation”, “nanny state”, non-creative) with ‘Big (civil) Society’ posited to replace the welfare state negatively associated with the discredited ‘Big State’. These “new freedoms for local government” in the first passage refer to localism legislation¹¹⁵. There is substantial overlap between the binaries reproduced throughout localism legislation and the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda. One such binary is **voluntary & community sector services – public sector services**, introduced into official debate in Cameron (2010):

“Second [characteristic of the ‘Big Society’], public service reform. We’ve got to get rid of the centralised bureaucracy that wastes money and undermines morale. And in its place we’ve got to give professionals much more freedom, and open up public services to new providers like charities, social enterprises and private companies so we get more innovation, diversity and responsiveness to public need.” (np)

¹¹⁵ See section 2.3.3.

The 'public sector services' signifier is *marked* here, and associated with the *marked* 'bureaucracy / dependency' and 'overspending' signifiers ("centralised bureaucracy", "wastes money") part of the New Labour 'Other'. The 'voluntary and community sector services' signifier thus becomes relationally *privileged* and associated with the *privileged* signifiers of 'innovation' and 'austerity / efficiency' ("innovation, diversity and responsiveness"). The *privileging* of VCS services reproduces throughout official debate, embedding a stable **voluntary & community sector services – public sector services** dominant practice early into the Coalition's administration:

"We will support the creation and expansion of mutual, co-operatives, charities and social enterprises, and enable these groups to have much greater involvement in the running of public services." (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.29)

"The success... in managing reductions in public spending has been based on strong strategic planning and a real focus on building the capacity of the VCS to respond to new opportunities to deliver public services in the country." (Cabinet Office, 2010g, p.14)

"These reforms will radically re-cast the relationship between the state and charities, social enterprises and voluntary and community groups over the coming years. They will give the sector a huge range of opportunities to shape and provide *innovative, bottom-up services* where expensive state provision has failed." (Cabinet Office, 2010f, p.3, *emphasis added*)

These extracts establish two important developments. Firstly, civil society / VCS organisations are endorsed to run public services. This is a continuation of already-existing trends of outsourcing (cf. Carmel & Harlock, 2008; Wallace, 2010). Secondly, VCS reproduce as more 'bottom-up' in comparison to the top-down service provision provided by local councils. This constructs a **bottom-up service provision – top-down service provision** dominant practice in official debate intertwined with the **voluntary & community sector services – public sector services** dominant practice. The 'top-down service provision' signifier first presents in Cameron (2010) and it is *marked* and associated with the New Labour 'Other':

"This means a whole new approach to government and governing. For a long time the way government has worked - *top-down, top-heavy, controlling* - has frequently had the effect of sapping responsibility, local innovation and civic action." (np, *emphasis added*)

“It’s time for something different, something bold - something that doesn’t just pour money down the throat of *wasteful, top-down government schemes*.” (np, *emphasis added*)

The ‘top-down service provision’ signifier associates here with the New Labour ‘Other’ and its *marked* signifiers of: ‘government responsibility’, ‘dependency / bureaucracy’ and ‘overspending’ (“top-heavy”, “controlling”, “wasteful”, “top-down government schemes”). The ‘bottom-up service provision’ signifier reproduces as *privileged* and the antithesis of ‘top-down service provision’ due to connections with the *privileged* signifiers of: ‘citizen responsibility’, ‘innovation’ and ‘austerity / efficiency’ (“local innovation”, “civic action”, “bold”, “different”). This replicates across official discourse texts:

“... the best ideas come from the ground up, not the top down. We know that when you give people and communities more power over their lives, more power to come together and work together to make life better – great things happen.” (Cabinet Office, 2010f, p.8)

“With open individual public services, higher standards will result from a range of diverse suppliers competing to provide people, armed with information and the power of choice, with the services they want. Success will be driven from the bottom up, in response to service users and flexible to their many needs, not from the top down. The role of government is to create this self-improving dynamic in every public service.” (Cabinet Office, 2011c, p.21)

Again, contradiction emerges from the official texts due to the Coalition’s endorsing of bottom-up service provision through their top-down programme of public sector reform and austerity. Both the **voluntary & community sector services – public sector services** and **bottom-up service provision – top-down service provision** dominant practices are partially consolidated within oppositional discourse. This is due to the ‘voluntary and community sector services’ and the ‘bottom-up service provision’ signifiers being steadily *privileged* in relation to ‘public sector services’ and ‘top-down service provision’ (Alcock, 2010a; Taylor, 2011a; Taylor, 2012; Chanan & Miller, 2013). However, these dominant practices are partially destabilised when the VCS is critiqued as co-opted by successive central government agendas:

“Equally, the diversification of public service provision through the voluntary and community sector, as encapsulated in the notion of the

Big Society, borrows heavily from Thatcher's privatisation and competitive tendering regimes. As Evans concludes, therefore, much of the reform process under way has strong Thatcherite antecedents, even if it is couched in ways that are seen to be more relevant to the 21st century." (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p.34)

"If we look at what happened to the third sector under New Labour... the voluntary and community sector was radically reshaped and restructured. Large voluntary organizations became quasi-governmental in nature, taking on large-scale services previously undertaken by the state, while smaller voluntary and community organizations, through commissioning processes, were brought much more under the controlling auspices of the state. This effectively led to a 'hollowing out' and depoliticization of much of the third sector." (Bunyan, 2012, p.123)

There is a recurrent line of criticism within oppositional debate that the VCS / third sector / civil society organisations have become increasingly co-opted and depoliticised by (neoliberal) government agendas since the 1980s; particularly during the current timeframe (2010-2015)¹¹⁶. This criticism embeds within two related binaries: **locally-owned assets – council-owned assets** and **social enterprise – state funded services**. The 'locally-owned assets' signifier emerges within Blond's (2010a) deliberations on the inequality of asset ownership in Britain:

"The poorest quarter of Britain's population own less than 1% of total assets, while, at the other extreme, 3% of households possess one-sixth." (p.206)

"By enhancing the roles of charities, social enterprises, housing authorities and community trusts, people from all backgrounds can begin to accumulate the capital and assets they need." (p.209)

From these passages, Blond is focussing particularly on civil society organisations, including voluntarily run community groups, 'owning' assets to accumulate their own capital. Blond (2010a) therefore *marks* the 'council-owned assets' signifier and associates it with the already *marked* signifiers of 'public sector services', 'dependency / bureaucracy' and 'overspending':

"Local councils own property worth some £250 billion and in 2009 the Audit Commission found that only one in fourteen councils was an exemplary manager of its assets." (p.209)

¹¹⁶ See also Alcock (2010a) and Powell (2013)

“Our current model of public-sector reform is not up to this challenge. Over the last ten years, our public services have experienced a real terms funding increase of 55%, financed by an increase of 5% of GDP in public expenditure since 2000. Yet public sector productivity has continued to fall, as has been seen.” (Blond, 2010b, p.239)

Once again, the inefficient ‘Big State’, and the New Labour ‘Other’, are recalled. Blond (2010b) *privileges* the ‘locally-owned assets’ signifier by promoting asset transfers as a cost-effective “... means of transferring council-owned property into the hands of local communities” (p.239). This replicates across official discourse; embedding a stable **locally-owned assets – council-owned assets** dominant practice:

“Community right to buy – The Bill will give communities powers to save local assets threatened with closure, by allowing them to bid for the ownership and management of community assets... As well as empowering communities (Action 2), this will diversify the providers of services and stimulate creative and imaginative new patterns of service and enterprise.” (Cabinet Office, 2010c, p.9)

“Community-owned shops are gaining popularity and have risen by over 1,200% in the last decade... There are also 14 co-operative pubs supported by their communities across the UK. Libraries are also being taken over by their communities – 5% of all public libraries are now run by the people who use them.” (Cabinet Office, 2013b, p.34)

This ‘empowerment’ (“give communities powers”, “empowering communities”, “run by people who use them”) of local communities through community asset transfers (CATs) is both consolidated (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Taylor, 2012) and critiqued in oppositional discourse:

“Big Society rhetoric was, however, writ large in the Coalition government’s Localism agenda. There were claims of empowerment for ordinary citizens here, but the bulk of the plan was about local authorities and the farming out of public services... The splendid phrase ‘Empowering communities to do things their way’ was focussed just on the siting of new developments, local authority flexibility and, once again, community groups’ right to buy ‘threatened’ assets.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.31)

“Instead of an equitable process of decentralisation, austerity localism envisions decentralising power to certain local people. The refusal to engage with power relations and inequalities within communities means that the default actors who are empowered by emerging forms of localism are likely to be those with the resources, expertise and social

capital to become involved in the provision of services and facilities. This chimes with the rather homogeneous closed notions of community being invoked through ‘Big Society’ rhetoric.” (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012, p.178)

These extracts outline three limitations of localism: (i) its narrow definition of community; (ii) its inability to facilitate the ‘true’ empowerment of local people in their communities, and (iii) that it reproduces inequalities in communities of place. Within oppositional debate, the relationship between localism and community development is not discussed comprehensively (Dean, 2013; Taylor, 2011a). Nevertheless, localism is critiqued in these extracts as it does not embrace key values and principles, such as social justice, equality and inclusion¹¹⁷, which could overcome such limitations. Despite this, a critique of how neighbourhood management and neighbourhood planning – arguably at the expense of community development – is being used under the Enterprise discourse to promote and implement localism is not present in academic debate.

The final dominant practice of the Enterprise discourse is **social enterprise – state-funded services** with the related *floating signifiers* of ‘employee-owned assets’, ‘private sector’ and ‘business / voluntary sector organisations coalition’. These are all introduced in Blond (2010b):

“In a new model of public-sector delivery, services could be provided by social enterprises... that would deliver the services previously monopolised by the state.” (p.241)

“Empowered staff are better at cutting costs and correcting failure than those managed by command-and-control methods – as has been proved in the private sector, in businesses such as John Lewis... The new civil company would be organised as a social enterprise, with the scope and flexibility to allow different structures according to local conditions.” (p.241-242)

Blond’s (2010b) discussions on citizens managing and running local assets as potential social enterprises reproduce as *privileged* in comparison to the top-down, bureaucratic public sector services of the ‘Big State’. Whilst citizens forming social enterprises is a priority, Blond (2010b) focusses on the ‘empowerment’ of public sector workers through employee-ownership:

¹¹⁷ As specified in section 2.2.1.

“My solution is different: the offer of a new power of 'civil association' to employees and users as already mentioned. Any self-organising front-line group of professionals who thought that they and their clients would do better by themselves in an alternative model of public provision would be granted this power. It would allow a group of staff in the public sector to self-organise and constitute a new civic organisation.” (p.272)

This passage denotes a potential co-production relationship between these new social entrepreneurs and their clients¹¹⁸. Whilst there is support for employee-owned mutuals, co-operatives and social enterprises in official debate (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.29; 2010a, p.8; 2010c, p.2; 2010e, p.4; 2011c, p.9, p.42-43), there is comparatively more space dedicated to local people and community groups establishing social enterprises to run local services (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.23, p.29; 2010a, p.3; 2010f, p.3, p.6; 2010c, p.1, p.2, p.3; 2010e, p.7, p.16; 2011a, p.11; 2012e, p.8-9; 2013b, p.34, p.36, p.41; Woodhouse, 2013, p.4-6). Throughout both debates there is increasing emphasis on these new mutuals, co-operatives and, preferably, social enterprises being ‘entrepreneurial’, and having collaborative ties with the private sector:

“Communities, community groups, charities, and social enterprises are essential to catalysing and sustaining social action. We want to do all we can to support them, and to encourage businesses to continue and expand on the important help they provide as well.” (Cabinet Office, 2010e, p.16)

Social enterprises were *privileged* early in official discourse as one of a small number of civil society organisations with the capacity to deliver public sector services in a more ‘entrepreneurial’ and ‘innovative’ fashion. The social enterprise policy strand then became more prevalent and eventually developed separately from the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda, especially from 2012 onwards (Cabinet Office, 2012e; 2012f; 2013a; 2013b; 2014b; 2015b; 2015c; Woodhouse, 2013). Social enterprises easily incorporate into the Enterprise discourse as they aim to generate more income through enterprise, and less through local authority grants, to become financially self-sustainable (Barret, 2011). A stable **social enterprise – state-funded services** dominant practice therefore embeds in official debate, with the *floating signifiers* of ‘private sector services’ and ‘business / voluntary sector coalition’ consistently *privileged* and accepted within Enterprise discourse if they are relationally positioned against the *marked* ‘state-funded services’ signifier.

¹¹⁸ This is elaborated on in section 4.3.1 on the Transformation discourse.

Resultantly, the ‘state-funded services’ signifier is associated with the *marked* signifiers of: ‘public sector services’, ‘government’, ‘Big State’, ‘dependency / bureaucracy’, ‘government responsibility’, ‘state action’ and, especially, ‘overspending’ – and is part of the New Labour ‘Other’. Featherstone *et al.* (2012) would support this analysis:

“The Coalition government’s approach extends the existing emphasis on competition and market solutions through an elision of the local and the private sector, defined against the ‘otherness’ of an oppressive state.”
(p.179)

In oppositional debate, the **social enterprise – state funded services** dominant practice is largely unchallenged with the exception of Powell (2013b) who argues that the Coalition’s focus on civil society and social enterprise is part of a premeditated rolling-back of the welfare state and enforces a particular ‘entrepreneurial’ subjectivity on to professionals in welfare services. This chapter now moves on to discuss the construction of the Transformation discourse in national debate.

4.3 The Transformation discourse

4.3.1 *The good society, political transformation and Blue Labour / Red Tory*

The first binary cluster of the Transformation discourse constitutes through the intertextual links of the following oppositional practices¹¹⁹: **good society – broken society, Blue Labour – New Labour, political transformation – neighbourhood transformation, collective – individual, collaboration/coproduction – participation/consultation, and community organising – community development**; with the *floating signifiers* of: ‘Old Labour’ and ‘personal transformation’. Both the **good society – broken society** and **collective – individual** oppositional practices are discussed in reference to the history and development of the Labour Party:

¹¹⁹ To the Enterprise discourse’s dominant practices.

“Labour originally grew out of a vast movement of voluntary collectivism. We should remember the co-operatives, mutual associations, adult schools and reading circles that constitute a proud tradition of mutual improvement and civic activism.” (Miliband, 2011, p.7)

“... there is a need to define a new sense of national purpose that is associative, democratic and free, and which can be defined by the ideas of the common good and the good society.” (Glasman *et al.*, 2011a, p.12)

The Labour Party promotes a ‘good’ society underpinned by voluntarism, collectivism and democracy. There are similarities between these descriptions of a ‘good’ society and the Coalition’s ‘Big Society’, i.e. voluntarism and collectivism could be incorporated into the Enterprise discourse’s social action which encourages local people to volunteer together to tackle local issues. Also, the focus on re-introducing co-operatives and mutual associations echoes the Enterprise discourse’s *privileging* of VCS services over public sector services. This overlap is disputed in official debate:

“In response [to the ‘Big Society’] Labour needs to develop the idea of a Good Society as its rival, and such a society would be built on relationships built on reciprocity, mutuality and solidarity, all the way up and all the way down, in politics and within the economy.” (Glasman, 2011, p.27)

A potential oppositional practice emerges here: **good society – Big Society**. But, the ‘Big Society’ signifier is consistently *privileged* within national debate and is locked into a stable **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice of the hegemonic Enterprise discourse¹²⁰. Consequently, it is difficult for a competing discourse to unlock the ‘Big Society’ signifier from this discourse. Additionally, the main differences between the ‘good society’ and ‘Big Society’ signifiers are not fully defined; leaving the ‘good society’ signifier vulnerable to *floating* status that could be used interchangeably with the ‘Big Society’ signifier and incorporated into the Enterprise discourse. The ‘good society’ signifier needs to therefore relationally associate itself with a *marked* signifier to give it *privileged* status and a more precise articulation. A **good society – broken society** oppositional practice develops within the Transformation discourse to allow the Labour Party to distance itself from the discredited New Labour government. A **collective – individual**

¹²⁰ See section 4.2.1.

binary interacts with the **good society – broken society** oppositional practice to attempt to separate the overlapping practices of the ‘Big Society’ and ‘good society’ signifiers:

“Distinctive labour values are rooted in relationships, in practices that strengthen an ethical life. Practices like reciprocity, which gives substantive form to freedom and equality in an active relationship of give and take. Mutuality, where we share the benefits and burdens of association. And then if trust is established, solidarity, where we actively share our fate with other people. These are the forms of the labour movement, the mutual societies, the co-operatives and the unions. It was built on relationships of trust and mutual improvement that were forged between people through common action. They were transformative of the life and conditions of working people.” (Glasman, 2011, p.14)

This articulation of the ‘collective’ signifier as people working together through common action is also problematic as **social action – state action**¹²¹ is a dominant practice of the Enterprise discourse already successfully articulated. This leaves the ‘collective’ signifier vulnerable to *floating* status that can be incorporated into the hegemonic Enterprise discourse. Additionally, both signifiers of ‘good’ society’ and ‘collective’ are not reproduced in the national policy texts nor academic debate. The Labour Party is thus struggling at this stage to develop a distinctive Self from both the Coalition and the New Labour ‘Other’ that co-constitute under the Enterprise discourse.

The introduction of the ‘Blue Labour’ signifier into official debate potentially counterbalances this. It is first established in Miliband (2011) and an unstable **Blue Labour – New Labour** oppositional practice reproduces where the marginally *privileged* signifier ‘Blue Labour’ is used interchangeably with the *privileged* ‘Old Labour’ *floating signifier*. ‘Blue Labour’ is actually an *empty signifier* that must draw on the already existing significations associated with Labour governance to give it meaning. Both ‘Old’ Labour and New Labour governance are used to ‘flesh out’ Blue Labour:

“... we need to rediscover the tradition of Labour as a grassroots community movement – not for the sake of nostalgia for the past, but to strengthen our party’s capacity to bring about real change to people’s lives.” (Miliband, 2011, p.8)

¹²¹ And its related terms of community action, civic action and common action.

“There was ominously little growth during [New] Labour’s period in office in the regional and productive economies, and where there was growth it was largely due to the expansion of the public sector. Indeed, state-sponsored capitalism was not the least of the paradoxical achievements of New Labour.” (Glasman *et al.*, 2011a, p.11)

Similar to Blond’s (2010) recommendations to the Conservative Party prior to the formation of the 2010 Coalition, these extracts establish that Blue Labour must also move beyond the state-market dichotomy that has been based on a (false) choice between “‘more state and less market’ or ‘more market and less state’” (Miliband, 2011, p.8) to achieve economic growth. This signals a return to ‘Old’ Labour and, again, the ‘Blue Labour’ signifier is articulated in light of its similarities to ‘Old’ Labour governance and its differences from New Labour governance. However, ‘Old’ Labour governance articulates in a particular way:

“[The Labour Party went from] being a tradition concerned with the Common Good in this country, as part of the country’s history, to become a progressive, left of centre, social democratic party... It was a move from the Common Good to progressivism, from organisation to mobilisation, from democracy to rights, from self-management to scientific management.” (Glasman, 2011, p.24)

There are three important developments here. First, the ‘Old’ Labour *privileged* here is pre-Attlee and pre-The Labour Party’s embrace of Keynesian economics under his leadership. Second, Blue Labour strategically *marks* the ‘social democracy’ signifier and negatively associates it with the ‘Big Society’ signifier and the Coalition:

“Put another way, social democracy has become neither social nor democratic. This is the land that Labour has vacated and is now being filled by the Conservative’s ‘Big Society’.” (ibid, p.27)

Third, Blue Labour’s pivotal “‘good’ society’ signifier can now be stably locked into the **good society – broken society** oppositional practice. This is due to the temporary interruption of the **Big Society – Big State** dominant practice where the ‘Big Society’ signifier has become associated with the ‘social democracy’ signifier and partially *marked*. Accordingly, Blue Labour is able to distance itself from the ‘broken society’ signifier and the New Labour ‘Other’ as articulated under the Enterprise discourse. Blue Labour further develops the “transformative” (Glasman, 2011, p.14) aspect of common action in this “Good Society” (ibid) through the

introduction of a **political transformation – neighbourhood transformation** oppositional practice. The ‘political transformation’ signifier is *privileged* in the Blue Labour texts *and* Blond (2010c):

“A radical ideological and operational overhaul is required. Welfare assistance must no longer encourage passive dependence but move towards independence and economic empowerment through the extension of ownership, not least with the ability to capitalise the recipient's own welfare streams... Local people would have both a stake and a voice in the local services they engage with: the state of ownership, and the ownership of the state, would be extended to the masses.” (p.285)

“Labour’s capacity to achieve the necessary level of change will depend upon it rebuilding a strong and enduring relationship with the people. The loss of public trust in politicians and in Britain’s system of representative democracy demands substantial and systemic reform. Political and economic power, both local and national, need to be entangled within and made accountable to a more democratic society.” (Glasman *et al.*, 2011a, p.11)

From these extracts - and previous discussions on the **good society – broken society, Big Society – Big State** and **Blue Labour – New Labour governance** oppositional practices - it can be ascertained that the authors of both Red Tory and Blue Labour are constructing a Transformation discourse underpinned by three elements. These are: (i) the political transformation of both the Conservative and the Labour Party; (ii) the transformation of public sector service provision and the role of the state in enabling this transformation; and (iii) the transformation of the relationship between the state and local people. This advances with the introduction of the ‘collaboration / coproduction’ signifier, articulated as members of the public directly involved as co-producers of public services (Blond, 2010b). Within the Transformation discourse, public sector professionals still have a pivotal role in the coproduction of public services with local people. There is a preference for public sector professionals to form “new associations” (ibid, p.268) such as mutuals, cooperatives and social enterprises to then coproduce public services with local people (Blond, 2010b; Miliband, 2011; Glasman, 2011). These “new associations” are, in fact, embedded within the history of both the Conservative and the Labour Party (Birchall, 2011; Cameron, 2009; Davis, 2011; Miliband, 2011; Norman, 2010). Although these developments share some overlap with the Enterprise discourse, what is unique to the Transformation discourse is the focus

on the coproduction of services *between* professionals and local people; whereas the Enterprise discourse focusses separately on community-run social enterprises *or* employee-owned mutuals / cooperatives / social enterprises. Blond (2010) consistently endorses the coproduction of services between professionals and local people; thus his work supports the development of the Transformation discourse, but significant elements have been incorporated into the Enterprise discourse.

Both the 'political transformation' and the 'collaboration / coproduction' signifiers reproduce in oppositional discourse but their articulations are contested. Only Taylor (2011b) and Chanan & Miller (2013) explicitly discuss these particular aspects of the Transformation discourse which de-stabilises the **political transformation – neighbourhood transformation** oppositional practice. Taylor (2011b) claims that a focus on political transformation is limited by the Coalition's emphasis on neighbourhoods / communities of place as a site of governance and intervention which, Taylor (2011b) argues, ignores the "... structural issues which are responsible for exclusion and which neighbourhood action cannot affect" (p.43). Consequently, a Transformation discourse that is committed to political transformation as opposed to neighbourhood transformation is promoted; *privileging* the 'political transformation' signifier and relationally *marking* the 'neighbourhood transformation' signifier. Nonetheless, Chanan & Miller (2013a) *privilege* 'neighbourhood transformation' in relation to 'political transformation':

"There are also other reasons why the neighbourhood - or another similar-sized area such as an estate, village or scattered rural settlement - is a crucial level for practical change. At this level - say on average amongst populations between 5,000 and 15,000 - people encounter each other face to face, sharing amenities, schools, shops, places of worship; they receive the same services; and some join together in social clubs, sports clubs, youth clubs, day centres and environmental campaigns. This is the same community that the public agencies are serving. Yet each service tends to try to engage with it separately. Could a more coordinated, cross-sectoral, interactive form of engagement *transform* life in disadvantaged neighbourhoods?" (ibid, p.5, *emphasis added*)

"*'Transformative neighbourhoods'* are not places which completely change their character but neighbourhoods which make it easier for people to *transform* the conditions of their lives: to build wider friendship networks; to create new activities and facilities around them; to connect

better with areas of economic opportunity; to overcome poverty and disadvantage; to create a more ecologically sustainable lifestyle; and to exercise a more meaningful local democracy.” (ibid, p.10, *emphasis added*)

There are six key developments here. First, the endorsement of the coproduction of services between professionals and local people at a neighbourhood level, which Blond (2010b) also promotes. Second, a broad definition of neighbourhood transformation that shares some overlap with the ‘political transformation’ signifier, i.e. public sector reform that can enable local people to be more involved in the services and decisions that affect them (Blond, 2010bc; Glasman, 2011). Third, that personal transformation is a subset of neighbourhood transformation, i.e. that neighbourhood transformation enables the conditions for personal transformation. Fourth, that community as a site for governance and intervention is becoming increasingly displaced by neighbourhood; echoing the Enterprise discourse. Fifth, that the language reproduced is reminiscent of communitarianism (“wider friendship networks”), which was reproduced through the Partnership discourse dominant under the New Labour government (1997-2010). Sixth, the promotion and development of community practice which has a strong neighbourhood focus. These six developments elucidate the promotion of a Transformation discourse that shares some overlap with the previous New Labour government’s Partnership discourse; but also adapts to the Coalition policy context by reproducing some of its key language:

“We concentrate on the central issue of how to move from a long history of fragmentary and short-term (community) practice to a framework for comprehensive neighbourhood partnership between a widespread of local residents and the full array of public services.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.4)

A key difference from the Enterprise discourse is that community practice, under the Transformation discourse, is explicitly committed to *transformation*:

“Managers [of community practice] can also offer support in finding ‘spaces’, and the courage to speak out more strongly against injustice and consider broader and longer-term tactics and strategies to achieve transformatory change.” (Banks & Butcher, 2013, p.26)

This explicit focus on transformation leads to criticism against the Enterprise discourse and, subsequently, the Department for Communities and Local Government’s policy, legislation and policy drivers:

“We have suggested throughout the potential for neighbourhoods to improve their conditions is reliant on policy frameworks at local, regional and national level. These policies can be liberating or inhibiting. But the ultimate determining factor is what is done in the neighbourhood itself, by the residents and local public services workers together. This is not something that can be done by residents in isolation. Erosion of mainstream public services would make it increasingly difficult for neighbourhoods to function, *let alone* transform themselves.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013c, p.155)

There are three important developments here. First, is *privileging* the coproduction of neighbourhood-based services between public sector workers and local people. Second, is the tension in community practice between focussing on neighbourhood transformation or a wider political transformation. Third, is a critique of the Enterprise discourse’s objective of eroding public sector provision rather than transforming it. Community practice thus reproduces under the Transformation discourse as, chiefly, a public sector profession that promotes the coproduction of neighbourhood-based services between public sector workers and local people to achieve neighbourhood, and potentially wider, transformation. The Enterprise discourse’s preoccupation with “farming out” (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.31) mainstream public sector services to a potentially ill-equipped and ill-prepared VCS, including community groups, is *marked* as inferior to the objectives of the Transformation discourse.

The **collaboration / coproduction – participation / consultation** oppositional practice is developed in oppositional debate. Coproduction is defined as:

“... delivering public services in an equal and reciprocal relationship between professionals, people using services, their families and their neighbours. Where activities are co-produced in this way, both services and neighbourhoods become far more effective agents of change.” (ibid, p.4)

What differentiates the Transformation discourse from the New Labour Partnership discourse is that the ‘collaboration / coproduction’ signifier functions as a *floating signifier* that interrupts the **participation – consultation** dominant practice established in policy debate throughout the dominant Participation and Partnership discourses of the Conservative (1992-1997) and New Labour (1997-2010) governments (Taylor, 2011b; Taylor, 2012). Whilst both these previous governments *privileged* the ‘participation’ signifier “... to harness the knowledge and energy of local people and give them more say in local services” (Taylor,

2011b, p.33), the ‘collaboration / coproduction’ signifier reproduced in the Transformation discourse relationally *marks* the ‘participation’ signifier as *inferior* to coproduction. This is particularly so when professionals and local people are coproducing services in social enterprise structures which are *privileged* due to their ability “... to combine economic and social goals by encouraging co-production, mutuality and collective ownership” (Taylor, 2011b, p.41). The language used to define social enterprises is distinct from the Enterprise discourse, i.e. not focussed on citizen responsibility, social action and innovation; and reproduces the developments of the Transformation discourse by, especially, Blond (2010) and Glasman (2011).

In oppositional debate, community practice additionally articulates as a method that can transform ‘broken’ neighbourhoods into ‘good’ ones:

“For whatever happens during the rest of the 21st century there is undoubtedly a need for change in the way we run our society. Economic pressures demand that public services yield maximum cost-benefit, and the imperative of social harmony – if not simple social justice – demands that rampant inequality is overcome. Equally, environmental pressures are likely to impel far-reaching changes in lifestyle, both at governmental and personal level. In all these areas, action at a neighbourhood level is a critical lever. It should therefore aim not just to ameliorate but to transform.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.1)

Here, community practice reproduces as a *privileged* community-based practice that transforms neighbourhoods and can lead to political transformation.

Community development is not explicitly discussed in official debate but it is negatively associated with social democracy; previously discussed as prevalent in the Labour Party from Attlee to Brown (1942¹²²-2010) from which Blue Labour is distancing itself. In oppositional debate, community development is nudged to incorporate under community practice to facilitate neighbourhood transformation and coproduction:

“There is a need for leadership & expertise [in community practice]. This may come from experienced CD [community development] workers/teams/units if they exist in the locality, and are in tune with this [community practice] approach. Otherwise it must be found elsewhere. Traditional CD methods and style may need to be adapted and re-

¹²² Attlee became leader of the Labour Party in 1935 but his transition to social democracy was influenced by serving as Deputy Prime Minister during wartime Britain (1942-1945) and his support for the Beveridge Report in 1942.

interpreted for the new situation [Coalition policy context].” (Chanan & Miller, 2013c, p.161)

Community practice is clearly *privileged* over community development in this extract as more relevant to the policy debate under study; and community development workers are encouraged to work under the banner of community practice, especially if they have leadership skills or experience in coproducing services with local people, or risk exclusion.

Despite a clear focus on service provision throughout national debate, the ‘community organising’ signifier is briefly *privileged*. Glasman (2011) bestows considerable praise for community organising – specifically London Citizens / Citizens UK *Living Wage* campaign - and discusses its prospective role in achieving Blue Labour’s desired political transformation:

“Over the past decade, the Living Wage campaign within London Citizens has been the way that I have been able to understand radical traditionalism... Committed to work as a value, yet challenging the prevailing market distribution as hostile to the living of a good life, it brought the two together.” (Glasman, 2011, p.20)

This *privileging* of transformative community organising implicitly *marks* established practices of community development associated with both New Labour and ‘Old’ Labour governance post-1945 that operated under a particular vision of social democracy hence state-intervention into local people’s lives (ibid). To resist such re-articulation, community development is also nudged under this discourse to re-establish itself under the banner of ‘transformative’ community organising dedicated to facilitating solidarity amongst workers and fixing Britain’s ‘broken’ society through the transmission of the principles of the ‘good society’ and the ‘common good’.

4.3.2 *The good neighbourhood, community spirit and personal transformation*

The second binary cluster is only sketched in national debate through the development of one binary pair. The **community spirit – lack of community spirit** oppositional practice emerges as key to Blue Labour:

“All the contributors [to *The Labour Tradition and the Politics of Paradox* (2011)] emphasise the centrality of life beyond the bottom line. It is our families, friends and the places in which we live which give us our sense of belonging. Even in the aftermath of a profound economic crisis, politicians of all parties need to realise that the quality of families’ lives and the strength of the communities in which we live depends as much on placing limits to markets as it does on restoring their efficiency.” (Miliband, 2011, p.7)

“[The Labour Party] is a party that aims to expand individual freedom, but locates true freedom in thriving communities not individualism. It sees democracy and power of association as crucial bulwarks in protecting people against the encroachments of both governments and markets.” (ibid, p.8)

Community spirit *privileged* by Blue Labour is rooted in communities of place / neighbourhoods and is a protective factor against the ills of both neoliberalism and authoritarianism. Thus, the Transformation discourse promotes the ‘good’ society and good neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, Blue Labour retains a commitment to using the term community over neighbourhood due to the former’s established associations with the *privileged* ‘community spirit’ signifier (Davis, 2011; Etzioni, 1993; Putnam, 2000). This articulation of community spirit is not confirmed or contested in oppositional debate; re-affirming the *marginal* status of this discourse. This chapter now moves on to discuss the construction of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse in national debate.

4.4 The Social Justice / Democracy discourse

4.4.1 Equality, rights and social justice

The first binary cluster of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse constitutes through the intertextual links of the following oppositional practices¹²³: **equality / social justice – equal opportunities, rights – responsibilities, community organising – community development** and **Alinskyan community organising – Coalition community organising**; with the interconnected *floating signifiers* of: ‘inequality/social injustice’ and ‘entrepreneurial freedom’. The ‘equality / social justice’ signifier is implicitly introduced into official discourse as a *marked* signifier in relation to the explicit ‘equal opportunities’ and ‘entrepreneurial freedom’ signifiers both *privileged* under the Enterprise discourse (Blond, 2010a; 2010c; Cabinet Office, 2011c; 2012a). Blond (2010a) emphasises “economic injustice” (p.206) rather than social injustice and argues that entrepreneurial freedom, through community asset transfers and owning public assets, can help local people overcome economic deprivation (ibid). This reiterates across the official discourse released by the Department for Communities and Local Government:

“There is an overwhelming imperative – an urgent moral purpose – which drives our desire to reform public services. We want to make opportunity more equal.” (Cabinet Office, 2011c, p.4)

“We will help everyone realise their potential irrespective of their background, and tackle persistent inequalities in access to training and jobs and in educational outcomes. Going forward, we need to ensure that all communities are able to contribute and benefit. Not only will this support the economic well-being of the country, but it will foster common ground by bringing people together around joint enterprise whilst ensuring we all have a shared stake in England’s economic future. As set out in the Social Mobility Strategy, promoting greater mobility and increasing opportunities is one of the Government’s top priorities.” (Cabinet Office, 2012a, p.13)

From these extracts, equality articulates as different groups in society having the same access to education, training and employment opportunities to overcome

¹²³ To the Enterprise discourse.

economic injustice and inequality. Social justice is not explicitly defined nor discussed in official texts. This narrows the articulations of the 'equality' signifier to encompass equal opportunities only and silences the interconnections between equality and broader social justice. Similarly, under the Transformation discourse both equality and social justice, and subsequently the 'equality / social justice' signifier, are *marked* as part of the New Labour 'Other':

"By 1997, unmediated globalisation in the economy was combined with an identification of Labour with justice, abstractly understood in terms of pluralism, rights, and equality of opportunity. This is the basis of the serious predicament we face today." (Glasman, 2011, p.27)

In this quote, (social) justice is more broadly and abstractly defined as encompassing pluralism, rights *and* equality of opportunity. Therefore, the 'equality / social justice' signifier is *marked* and associated with the 'social democracy' signifier, which Blue Labour *marked* as part of the Coalition government and the (New) Labour 'Other'. This recurs across the Enterprise discourse with discussions on integration:

"In the past, integration challenges have been met in part with legal rights and obligations around equalities, discrimination and hate crime. This has not solved the problem and, where it has encouraged a focus on single issues and specific groups, may in some cases have exacerbated it." (Cabinet Office, 2012a, p.6)

It is clear that debate on a wider articulation of equality and social justice, beyond equal opportunities and entrepreneurial freedom, is silenced across official discourse debate due to associations with the New Labour 'Other'. This is challenged in oppositional debate with an alternative articulation of the 'equality / social justice' signifier:

"Equalities is not a luxury item – we need to monitor new services to ensure that they are accessible to all. If we want to make sure community organizers are pursuing equality and social justice for all, we have to turn community organizing into community development, with training in community development values, principles and inclusive methods." (Community Development Exchange, 2010; cited in Bunyan, 2012, p.127)

"Unsurprisingly, with the neo-con model ascendant through most of the 1980s and 1990s, power inequalities, with income and wealth as proxy measures, grew substantially. The wealthy elite steadily became even more powerful; meanwhile, everyone else slipped further down the ever-

narrowed pyramid, and their dependence on the plutocratic minority deepened dangerously.” (Tam, 2011, p.31)

There are two important developments here. First, is the focus on “equality and social justice for all” rather than equal opportunities; and that the former can be promoted through the values, principles and inclusive methods of community development. Second, is the fusing of economic inequalities with *power* inequalities in comparison to both the Enterprise and the Transformation discourse which focus on economic inequalities and how to address these inequalities through asset ownership. The first development is substantiated by Mills & Robson (2010) who argue that all community based practices, including community development and community organising, must be “... underpinned by a framework of equality and social justice” (p.12) as, without this underpinning, they have “... the potential to damage individuals and deepen divisions within communities” (ibid). They additionally stipulate that the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda heavily contributes to the “... dilution, distortion and appropriation of community development values and principles regarding social justice and equality” (ibid); which repeats across other oppositional texts (Tam, 2011; Bunyan, 2012).

The second development is corroborated and developed by Powell (2013b) who argues that the Coalition government’s welfare and public sector reform has the neoliberal political objective “... of ending social justice as the basis of political community” (p.15). Powell (2013b) also claims that, under neoliberal hegemony, the social democratic project of creating an equal and socially just society is increasingly eroded by the neoliberal focus on entrepreneurial freedom and equal opportunities, and “... ‘the role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices’” (Harvey, 2005; cited in Powell, 2013b, p.8). For Powell (2013b), discussions of both *inequality* and social *injustice* are noticeably silenced in discourses that descend from neoliberal hegemony.

This re-articulated **equality / social justice – equal opportunities** oppositional practice, and its associated *floating signifiers* of ‘entrepreneurial freedom’ and ‘inequality / social injustice’, are interconnected with the **rights – responsibilities** oppositional practice. As previously discussed, national debate on rights associated with equality and social justice was silenced under both the Enterprise (cf. Cabinet Office, 2012a, p.6) and the Transformation (cf. Glasman, 2011, p.27) discourse. Within the Enterprise discourse there is a consistent focus on

responsibilities rather than rights, with citizen responsibility *privileged* over government responsibility. This focus contributes to the silencing of a more egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice, which is referred to in some oppositional texts:

“Is it good for society for those with less to bear more of the burden?”
(Tam, 2011, p.33)

“The embedding of our rights as customers and consumers in the market place into the space of negotiated settlements between the state and society is a key mechanism by which we are regulated from below (Dean, 1999).” (Davoudi & Madanipour, 2012, p.558)

“It is certainly hard to argue with its commitment to give people more control over their lives. The proposed new community rights – to buy and to challenge, for example – could offer much to those who are able to take them up.” (Taylor, 2011, p.258)

Two important developments emerge from these excerpts. First, is a commitment to bringing rights, equality and social justice back into the debate which destabilises the **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** dominant practice within the Enterprise discourse. Second, is how the signifier of ‘rights’ is contrastingly re-articulated depending on the discourse reproducing it. The Social Justice / Democracy discourse draws attention to how neoliberal hegemony, and its associated discourses, continually narrow the potential significations of the ‘rights’ signifier to move away from an egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice framework to focus instead on citizens’ rights as consumers / owners, stakeholders and co-producers. This insertion of the ‘rights’ signifier – including the **rights – responsibilities** oppositional practice and its associations with the **equality / social justice – equal opportunities** oppositional practice - into national policy debate destabilises the **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** dominant practice fundamental to the hegemony of the Enterprise discourse. Thus, these alternative significations, and the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, must be silenced.

4.4.2 A radical and democratic civil society movement

The second binary cluster constitutes through intertextual links of the following oppositional practices: **political alternative – neoliberal hegemony, civil society – government, active democracy – passive democracy, radical – reformist** and **political activity – professional activity**; with the *floating signifiers* of: ‘radical democracy’, ‘civil society movement’ and ‘community movement’. The ‘political alternative’ signifier is prevalent across official debate with both the Enterprise discourse and the Transformation discourse reproducing similar articulations of this signifier as superior and *privileged* in relation to the previous New Labour administration and the New Labour ‘Other’ (Blond, 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; Cameron, 2010; Glasman, 2011). In particular, technocratic aspects of social democracy are ‘othered’ across both the Enterprise and the Transformation discourse due to their associations with the *marked* signifiers of: “broken’ society’, ‘Big State’, ‘dependency / bureaucracy’ and ‘overspending’. Resultantly, the ‘political alternative’ signifier is associated with the *privileged* signifiers of: “good’ society’, ‘Big Society’, ‘innovation’ and ‘austerity / efficiency’; and articulated accordingly. These articulations are challenged in oppositional debate:

“The New Labour government... did a great deal, through flagship initiatives such as Civil Renewal, Active Communities, Active Citizens in Schools and Neighbourhood Renewal, to give citizens and community groups more power and opportunities to shape the decisions of government bodies and take actions to improve their own neighbourhoods... [these re-articulations are] (t)he only threat to the neo-con position.” (Tam, 2011, p.32)

“Despite the criticisms of New Labour’s community empowerment initiatives, gains were made in a number of authorities and productive new relationships forged. Even where gains were modest, engaging in partnership developed skills, confidence and understanding on both sides. (Taylor, 2012, p.24)

This disagreement with the Coalition’s re-articulation of the New Labour administration, and its construction of the New Labour ‘Other’, is pivotal to the formation of a credible and oppositional discourse as it can deconstruct and delegitimise the hegemonic Enterprise discourse through hegemonic dislocation¹²⁴.

¹²⁴ See section 3.2.3.

The legitimacy of the Enterprise discourse is dependent upon a wide audience in England, and beyond, accepting the Coalition's re-articulation of the previous New Labour administration and the threat of a New Labour 'Other' that could once again lead to a 'broken' Britain. This attack on these claims destabilises the significations of the 'political alternative' signifier under both the Enterprise and Transformation discourse. Oppositional debate capitalises on this by comprehensively *marking* the 'neoliberal hegemony' signifier and any significations of 'political alternative' associated with neoliberalism. Localism legislation is particularly targeted as descendant from neoliberal hegemony even though the Enterprise discourse insists it is a political alternative:

"Localism can be conceptualised as the continuation and intensification of neo-liberalism and its post-welfarist reconfiguration of 'the social' as a series of individuals who operate within a framework of quasi-markets to provide services and expertise." (Davoudi & Madanipour, 2012, p.559)

"[The Coalition government's] specific mobilisation of localism is not politically innocent. It is part of a broader repertoire of practices through which the government has constructed the local as antagonistic to the state and invoked it to restructure the public sector. We term this project austerity localism. It can be seen as the latest mutation of neoliberalism." (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012, p.177-8)

With the 'neoliberal hegemony' signifier successfully *marked* and associated with concepts like localism ("austerity localism", "the latest mutation of neoliberalism"), the 'political alternative' signifier returns to *floating* status to be re-articulated by competing discourses. The signifiers of 'active democracy' and 'radical democracy' are introduced to 'flesh out' the 'political alternative' signifier under this oppositional discourse:

"The Occupy movement has become the theatre of *radical democratic discourse* opposed to neoliberalism. It offers a radically different model of democracy that challenges the role of elites at a time of economic crisis and growing perceptions of democratic deficits." (Powell, 2013b, p.24, *emphasis added*)

"In opposition to the forms of austerity localism being peddled by the Coalition, we outline here aspects of an agenda for what we term progressive localism. By this term, we suggest community strategies that are outward-looking and that create positive affinities between places and social groups *negotiating global processes* (MacKinnon *et al.* 2011). We use the term progressive to emphasise that these struggles

are not merely defensive. Rather, they are expansive in their geographical reach and productive of new relations between places and social groups. Such struggles can, more-over, reconfigure existing communities around emergent agendas for *social justice, participation and tolerance*.” (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012, p.179, *emphasis added*)

“The World Social Forum embodies the principles of radical democracy... It represents a *convergence between socialism and democracy. Traditional socialist values of social justice, equality, solidarity are linked to participative democracy and human emancipation* in the new Bolivarian political project.” (Powell, 2013b, p.26-7, *emphasis added*)

The ‘political alternative’ signifier develops in two ways in these excerpts. First, through the break-away from the neoliberal focus on the local to engage with global processes and networks, for example the *Occupy* movement and the World Social Forum. This re-articulates localism as *progressive localism* that is both outward and inward facing. Second, the continued reproduction and promotion of the socialist values of social justice, equality and solidarity grounded in democratic projects which are both active and radical. Radical democracy shares liberal democracy’s roots in freedom and equality but also embraces difference, dissent and antagonism to bring to the fore oppressive forces within society so that they can be challenged (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). The *Occupy* movement, the World Social Forum and the Arab Spring uprising are exemplars of this (Powell, 2013a). These re-articulations of the ‘political alternative’ signifier cohesively bring together a Social Justice / Democracy discourse oppositional to the Enterprise discourse and challenge its hegemony.

This is enhanced by the introduction of a **civil society – government** oppositional practice, and its associated *floating signifiers* of ‘civil society movement’ and ‘community movement’. These developments re-articulate the ‘civil society’ signifier to potentially destabilise the **civil society – government** dominant practice under the Enterprise discourse¹²⁵. As detailed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, definitions of the ‘civil society’ signifier under the Enterprise discourse were narrowed to signify the third / voluntary sector and the social action of citizens and business / statutory

¹²⁵ The ‘civil society’ *floating signifier* easily interchanges with the ‘community’ *floating signifier* under the Enterprise discourse – see section 4.2.1.

sector employees volunteering their time in their own neighbourhoods / localities in 'Big Society'. This is critiqued under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse:

"... many scholars have written about civil society as a space for independent social action (see Deakin, 2001). But for most of these commentators, civil society is a distinct theoretical concept focusing on analysis of how we conceive of social relations rather than how we classify organisations. Evers and Laville (2004: 6) once argued that there can be no 'civil society sector'; and more recently, Evers (2010) has repeated the argument that associational forms and social relations are different subjects." (Alcock, 2010a, p.386)

"Civil society - as a communicative space - finds itself located between... competing forces, which in turn seek to bend it to their particular interest." (Powell, 2013a, p.5)

The Social Justice / Democracy discourse therefore broadens the 'civil society' signifier to encompass a communicative space where, ideally, independent (of the state) social action and social relations occur. Additionally, this discourse makes a crucial distinction between civil society movements and the controversial civil society sector as promoted by the Coalition. This mirrors Taylor's (2012) own distinctions between a community sector and a community movement. Taylor (2012) *privileges* the 'community movement' signifier and articulates it as:

"... a counter-narrative that told of the co-option by the state of community resources and energies, endangering the distinctiveness and independence of the community voice." (p.15)

Thus, the 'community sector' signifier is relationally *marked* and is articulated as:

"Mainstream community work [that] was embedded in a social work tradition, promoting non-contentious models... based on a pluralist and consensus-oriented model of society (Thomas, 1983; Henderson *et al*, 1976)." (Taylor, 2012, p.18)

These passages combined make distinctions between movements and sectors, whether civil society or community, and there are two key repetitions. Firstly, that movements occur independent of the state and, relationally, that sectors are prone to being steered by central and local government agendas, i.e. to provide public services on behalf of the state. Secondly, the removal of 'movement' from both community and civil society is, arguably, a neoliberalisation of both spaces. This echoes Powell's (2013a) assertion that the competing forces of neoliberalism and radical democracy are battling to re-articulate the 'civil society' signifier, and

arguably the 'community' signifier also, "to their particular interest" (p.5).

Accordingly, the Social Justice / Democracy discourse re-articulates key signifiers vulnerable to being shaped by neoliberal states or market governance and control, i.e. 'localism', 'civil society' and 'community'. This is accentuated by the emergence of a **radical – reformist** binary within oppositional debate which was previously introduced in Taylor (2012, p.18) with regards to community work and community development. Overall, oppositional debate *privileges* the 'radical' signifier and, relationally, *marks* the 'reformist' signifier:

"Radical community development found further inspiration from the work of Paolo Freire and his ideas of 'conscientisation' (1972) advocating an educative process that allows people to reflect on their experience and their situation through praxis (ongoing critical reflection and action) in order to counter the hegemony of the state (Ledwith, 2005)." (Taylor, 2012, p.17)

"For some, the radical rhetoric of the CO model is perceived as a lifeline in a sea of despair – offering to release a powerful new force to fight for long overdue social justice." (Mills & Robson, 2011, p.12)

"The aspirations that Thomas (1983) and others had in realizing community development as a significant driver of change within the local state did not materialize in any substantive way – in fact, community development as a discrete, distinctive and certainly as a *radical democratic practice* largely went in to decline – this has particularly been the case over the past decade or so." (Bunyan, 2012, p.128, *emphasis added*)

As discussed through sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.6, there is an embedded **radical – reformist** binary in the community development field where more radical practices are regarded as 'better' and more 'authentic' forms of, for example, community development and community organising. Within the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, there is a commitment to radical, especially radical democratic, practices to counter not only the hegemony of the state but neoliberal hegemony as a whole (cf. Davoudi & Madanipour, 2012; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Dean, 2013; Powell, 2013a; 2013b). The implications of these developments, including what subject positions of professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes are available under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, and if they can live up to such 'radical' claims, are

discussed in sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2. Not all oppositional debate *privileges* the 'radical' signifier however:

"Radicalist theory holds that the state and its agencies are themselves the primary source of the poverty and inequality that community work is fighting against. If this is the case then tension is not only unavoidable but irremediable. There can be no successful community practice under such conditions." (Chanan & Miller, 2013b, p.42)

"If community work was only a movement of social protest, governments would never employ community workers. Repressive governments would stamp on it and permissive ones would tolerate it, but no government would deliberately allocate tax revenues to provide it." (ibid, p.43)

These quotes demonstrate the paradoxical **radical – reformist** binary embedded within the community development field where there is still an expectation that radical community development processes can attack and criticise the state but will remain financially supported by it. These quotes also present a **political activity – professional activity** oppositional practice in the Social Justice / Democracy discourse that relates to community development and its related practices; with the 'political activity' signifier *privileged* and associated with the 'radical' signifier; and the 'professional activity' signifier relationally *marked* and associated with the 'reformist' signifier. This oppositional practice is discussed in section 6.4.1.

4.5 Conclusion

Using the first four-stages of PDA, this chapter outlines that three distinct community development discourses emerged during the administration of the Coalition government (2010-2015). The Enterprise discourse reproduces as the dominant community development discourse that articulated in a hegemonic fashion across both official and oppositional policy debate at a national level. My analysis reveals that the stability and hegemony of the Enterprise discourse was achieved through the Coalition's re-constitution of New Labour's legacy as a failure and thus responsible for 'broken' Britain in early 2010. With this 'truth' in

place, policy released by the Department for Communities and Local Government constituted a dominant Enterprise discourse where civil society and its citizens were subject to the devolution of service provision responsibility. Resultantly, employee-owned and, preferably, locally-owned social enterprises were nudged to run public services. These social enterprises were promoted as innovative, entrepreneurial, efficient and the most immune to austerity measures. This is the landscape that community development had to negotiate through during this timeframe and community development was largely nudged to operate within these social enterprise service provision structures. There were also nudges for community development to re-shape its practices under volunteering, neighbourhood management and the Community Organisers Programme.

This articulation of New Labour as responsible for 'broken' Britain in early 2010 reverberated under the Transformation discourse. This discourse of community development sets out to heal Britain's 'broken' society through the political transformation of both the Conservative and the Labour Party, and the transformation of public sector service provision through public sector professionals and local people coproducing services. This discourse did not reproduce widely enough to challenge the Enterprise discourse. As a result, it has *marginal* status in regards to the power and authority it wields in this discursive field. Additionally, key aspects of this discourse, especially the promotion of employee-owned assets to deliver local / neighbourhood-level services and the promotion of Alinsky-influenced community organising, were partially incorporated into the Enterprise discourse. Also, both community practice and community organising were *privileged* at the expense of community development.

The final community development discourse reproduced in this timeframe partially challenged both the Enterprise and the Transformation discourses' re-articulation of the previous New Labour administration to potentially destabilise the hegemony of the former discourse in national policy debate. Despite such advancements, the Social Justice / Democracy discourse of community development was silenced in official discourse as both the Enterprise and Transformation discourses narrowed the available articulations of the 'equality / social justice' signifier in the discursive field to signify equal opportunities and entrepreneurial freedom only. Although, in academic debate the Social Justice / Democracy discourse constitutes as a worthy competitor to the Enterprise discourse. Overall, the Social Justice / Democracy

community development discourse articulates as underpinned by a detailed framework of egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice (Mills & Robson, 2010), and the radical and active democracy of civil society movements (Powell, 2013) which can challenge neoliberalism and offer a political alternative to neoliberal hegemony (Tam, 2011; Davoudi & Madanipour, 2013; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012). The implications of this discourse for community development are that only radical democratic practices of community development, that are financially independent of the state and operate within civil society movements, are *privileged* and legitimated within this discourse. A **radical – reformist** binary thus emerges where reformist community development practices are excluded from this discourse. This thesis now moves on to discuss how these three discourses of community development re-articulate within a local authority in the north east of England.

Chapter 5 – Debate within a case study local authority in England

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter established three discourses of community development available from 2010 to 2015 across England. These were the Enterprise, Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses. This chapter reveals how these three community development discourses re-articulate within a case study local authority in the north east of England. The first four stages of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA) are again used to outline the key binary pairs (dominant and oppositional practices), the stability of the signifiers involved in these practices, and the interconnections of these practices and signifiers across local authority official (policy) and oppositional (grassroots) texts, within each of the three discourses. Any additional discourses articulated are also delineated. This chapter also sets out to answer the remainder of research questions one and two: (i) what were the competing discourses of community development available in England between 2010 and 2015?; and (ii) which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced? These questions are answered here using the findings across the case study local authority only.

Section 5.2 focusses on how the Enterprise discourse re-articulates within local authority policy and grassroots debate as the dominant discourse of community development. Next, section 5.3 establishes how the Transformation discourse of community development re-articulates across the three community development projects (CP1, CP2, CP3) and outlines its key differences from the Transformation discourse available in national debate. Section 5.4 details the reproduction of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse as both a silenced discourse of community development within LA policy texts and an oppositional community development discourse in one community development project (CP3). Section 5.5 concludes this chapter by presenting its key findings.

5.2 The Enterprise discourse

5.2.1 *Austerity, 'Big Society' and localism: the responsabilisation of the voluntary and community sector and its volunteers*

The two binary clusters of the Enterprise discourse re-articulate as one incorporated binary cluster within this local authority – *austerity, 'Big Society' and localism: the responsabilisation of the voluntary and community sector and its volunteers*. From the application of the first four stages of PDA, discussions in local authority debate concerning the overarching 'Big Society' policy agenda interconnect with those on localism legislation, austerity policy and the promotion of volunteering. Seven dominant practices reproduce with regards to localism: **community – neighbourhood; neighbourhood management – community development; citizen responsibility – government responsibility; voluntary & community sector services – public sector services; bottom-up service provision – top-down service provision; locally run assets – council run assets** and **social enterprise – state-funded services**. These dominant practices overlap with four more dominant practices concerning austerity and the promotion of volunteering. These include: **government investment – austerity/efficiency; austerity policy – Big Society policy driver; innovation – dependency/bureaucracy** and **volunteering - salaried work**.

5.2.1.1 Local authority policy debate

The Enterprise discourse's **community – government** dominant practice and the interchangeable 'neighbourhood' *floating signifier* re-articulate with key differences in local authority policy debate. An *erratic* **community – neighbourhood** binary emerges, with community slightly more *privileged* than neighbourhood (Council, 2012a; 2013). This is prevalent in localism discussions:

"The Committee's review has focussed specifically on the 'communities' element of the Localism Act... [to] build upon [LA district's] established

approach to engage and empower communities, including devolving resources and responsibility to communities and neighbourhoods.” (Council, 2012a, p.2)

“We want to work with our communities to improve the services on offer as well as supporting communities to deliver services themselves – if there is a desire to do so.” (Council, 2012b, p.2)

Here, communities and neighbourhoods are regarded as more distinct entities under the overarching ‘communities’ element of the Localism Act (2011). Both extracts also explicitly using the word ‘community’ more than ‘neighbourhoods’. This reiterates in the following excerpt:

“[local authority district] has always had diverse communities and many people retain a strong local identity with their estate, village or neighbourhood. There is of course diversity within these communities as well as between them. People who appear different on the outside will share similar concerns and interests, such as the safety and education of their children, the security of their job or the search for one, the frequency of local buses or how their favourite football team is performing.” (Council, 2012b, p.5)

There are some distinctions made here between communities of place and communities of identity and interest. Although, homogenous and consensus-based understanding of community still reproduce, i.e. the similarities between people rather than differences. These distinctions tentatively suggest that a discourse is competing with the Enterprise discourse for dominance in this local authority. Nonetheless, neighbourhood is occasionally *privileged*:

“... statutory and voluntary/community sector organisations have all agreed to work in partnership with local people and communities at an area and neighbourhood level.” (Council, 2012b, p.11)

“The principles of the Localism Act reinforce the approach that [local authority district] has and will continue to take through its approach to Area and Neighbourhood working.” (Council, 2012a, p.3)

These excerpts show that neighbourhood working is a *privileged* practice; particularly, neighbourhood management: “neighbourhood management is central to strengthening communities” (Council, 2012b, p.12) and “... it is recognised that [neighbourhood management] has had a positive outcome for [local authority district] and its residents” (ibid, p.5). Despite the references to partnership working

between the statutory and voluntary sectors, neighbourhood management follows the national localism agenda to devolve service provision to neighbourhoods:

“Those involved in [CP2] look to solve problems regarding service provision themselves as opposed to the expectation of the council and partners being the direct provider. The next development steps for the organisation are to diversify income streams, making substantial requests to funders for long term funding, and researching the development of a social enterprise to enable [CP2] to become fully self-sufficient in the future. Additionally this will involve developing the organisation to be ready to maximise opportunities within commissioning, and the devolving of service delivery to neighbourhoods.” (Council, 2012a, p.8)

The community development project highlighted here is CP2 and their response to the Enterprise discourse is discussed in section 5.2.1.2. The hegemony of the Enterprise discourse is visible in this extract – the expectation that CP2 will solve their own ‘problems’ by operating under a social enterprise structure, rather than look to the council for financial support. On a surface level, it could be argued that the Social Justice / Democracy discourse is present here as it would also support CP2 becoming financially independent from local government. However, that CP2 is a community development project and not solely the provider of neighbourhood-based services is not recognised. This exemplifies the Enterprise discourse’s focus on service provision at the expense of broader community development processes, i.e. informal education and campaigning. Community development is once again silenced under the Enterprise discourse.

This devolution of service delivery to neighbourhoods advances through the **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** dominant practice:

“Creating a Big Society sits at the heart of the government’s agenda. This involves giving individuals and communities the power to take responsibility, realising fairness and opportunity for all.” (Council, 2013, p.3)

“Build upon [LA’s] established approach to engage and empower communities, including devolving resources and responsibility to communities and neighbourhoods.” (Council. 2012a, p.2).

Both excerpts recall the Enterprise discourse’s emphasis on libertarian fairness, equality of opportunity and ‘empowerment’ through citizen responsibility and

owning public assets in national policy debate. This dominant practice is also de-stabilised:

“The [LA Network] event particularly recognised the number of new opportunities to arise from the Localism Act, however highlighted concerns about the power of individuals and communities to influence and respond to complex processes.” (Council, 2012a, p.5)

A **being overburdened – being empowered** binary emerges from this extract which tentatively criticises localism for overburdening volunteers and local people in the name of ‘empowerment’. Like national official debate, the local authority voluntary and community sector (VCS) is posited to facilitate the ‘empowerment’ of citizens to take on responsibility:

“The role of the VCS was recognised for its ability to strengthen community relations by harnessing the time, knowledge and skills of people from within the community to meet local needs.” (Council, 2012a, p.5)

“The community and voluntary sector has an important part to play in shaping and delivering the Governments’ (sic) Big Society agenda, and [LA district] is well equipped to meet this challenge.” (Council, 2010b, p.6)

The VCS sector is *privileged* in these excerpts as effective and well-equipped. This sector and the volunteering infrastructure also reproduce as “vibrant” (Council, 2010a, p.22) and “thriving” (Council, 2012b, p.7). However, the **voluntary & community sector services – public sector services** dominant practice is unstable due to the local authority council’s emphasis on partnership working between the council and the VCS, with a focus on council’s strategic role:

“The Council will signpost the VCS organisations to appropriate networks and peer support (eg: Community Care Network). This will provide opportunities to pool knowledge and resources.” (Council, 2012d, p.2)

“[to] further develop the Council’s strategic leadership role, ensuring a partnership approach to working with areas and neighbourhoods, particularly with the Voluntary and Community Sector.” (Council, 2012a, p.2)

Three important developments emerge here. First, a budding preference for neighbourhoods, over communities, as a site of intervention. Second, an implicit

preference for the council's neighbourhood management team, rather than community development team, working in partnership with the VCS. Third, the central role of partnership working between council and the VCS. Whilst the first two developments echo the Enterprise discourse in national debate, the third reproduces the Partnership discourse that was available during the New Labour administration (1997-2010). The Labour Party remained the largest party elected on to this LA Council in 2010¹²⁶. Therefore, the presence of the Partnership discourse could represent this council's loyalty to New Labour's legacy, reflected in the endorsement of the council's strategic role in partnership working with the VCS (Clarence & Painter, 1998; Newman, 2001; Taylor, 2012). The Partnership discourse also emerges within the **bottom-up service provision – top-down service provision** binary:

“Community involvement, engagement and development underpins everything we want to achieve and we want to work with our communities to improve the public services on offer as well as supporting communities to deliver services themselves...” (Council, 2010a, p.1)

“Empower local people to influence policy, service delivery and take part in civic and community life.” (Council, 2010a, p.2; Council, 2013, p.16)

Under the Partnership discourse, both extracts demonstrate a clear preference for community rather than neighbourhood as a site for developing bottom-up service provision, and that community development is a crucial tool to facilitate this. This differs from the Enterprise discourse with its focus on neighbourhoods, community asset transfers, social enterprise and neighbourhood. The reproduction of the **locally owned assets – council owned assets** dominant practice to ‘empower’ both local people and VCS organisations to provide such bottom-up service provision, signals a return to the Enterprise discourse and, once again, the silencing of community development as a distinct community-based practice within localism legislation (Council, 2012d; 2013; 2014). Community asset transfers are favoured as a mechanism of ‘empowering’ VCS organisations:

“[This policy] sets out a transparent, positive and proactive framework to enable and manage asset transfer from the council to the voluntary and

¹²⁶ See section 3.5.3.

community sector (VCS) to take place and be successful in the long-term.” (Council, 2012d, p.1)

In this local authority, both libraries and community centres were targeted for community asset transfers. Of a total of sixteen community centres, seven were “... transferred to community or voluntary organisations” (Council, 2014, p.4) with a further eight proposed to be leased in 2014 (ibid). Additionally, six of a total of seventeen libraries became volunteer-run within that same period (ibid). This shift in assets from local government to the VCS demonstrates the Enterprise discourse embedding within this local authority as a dominant community development discourse. Similar to the national policy texts, the *privileging* of the ‘locally owned assets’ signifier is augmented through its positive association with the ‘austerity/efficiency’ signifier:

“The majority of property owned in the public sector is owned by local government, and central government continues to promote the view that substantial savings can be made by local government through the better use of its property.” (Council, 2014, p.2)

“The [local authority district] CASMP [Corporate Asset Strategy and Management Plan] 2012 identifies strategies for the various sectors of the property portfolio to achieve future savings. These strategies will enable the Council to continue to reduce the overall size of the operational estate, in the short to medium term, and by the introduction of better property management will achieve a more cost effective and efficient use of the estate long term, thus achieving a reduction in running costs of the retained estate.” (ibid, p.3)

Again, the ‘Big State’ is recalled through references to central and local government inefficiency and bureaucracy. The ability of this council to successfully promote *both* the Partnership and Enterprise discourses is challenged in these passages. The dominance of austerity policy and the *privileging* of the ‘austerity/efficiency’ signifier across national policy debate leaves the council few alternatives but to implement the dominant practices of the Enterprise discourse, including community asset transfers. Despite these hegemonic articulations, the ‘austerity/efficiency’ signifier is occasionally *marked*:

“Financial stability was found to be an increasing issue for VCS organisations. A conflicting challenge is presented by less resources, reduced ability of local people to pay for services, alongside the increased demand for services.” (Council, 2012a, p.6)

“Changes in expectations on the voluntary sector, and cut backs in their previous funding sources are coming at a time when the call upon their services has never been greater.” (ibid, p.12)

Similar to national official debate, there is recognition that this council could be more ‘efficient’ in their service delivery, especially by promoting and supporting community asset transfers. However, this local authority policy acknowledges that austerity is damaging the VCS, especially through staff redundancies; thus implicitly suggests that central government should invest more in the VCS. This introduces a ‘government investment’ *floating signifier* to further destabilise the **austerity/efficiency – overspending** dominant practice of the Enterprise discourse. Similar to national official debate, the **innovation – dependency/bureaucracy** dominant practice emerges within local official debate to re-stabilise the **austerity/efficiency – overspending** dominant practice:

“Transforming public services, through delivery, design and innovation...” (Council, 2010b, p.7)

“Shared services – sharing the provision and running of services between partners is an effective efficiency solution, which can also lead to improved service and customer experience. Similarly, merging assets and back office functions can realise significant savings, whilst also leading to more accessible, accountable and efficient services.” (Strategic Partnership, 2010, p.10)

This local authority council authored eight of the nine local policy texts selected for PDA. With the exception of Council (2014) concerning public asset ownership, Strategic Partnership (2010) is the only local policy text to concur with the allegations raised in national policy debate regarding the bureaucracy and inefficiency of local government. In this text, innovation is established as VCS organisations scaling back their “back office functions” and working in partnership with other VCS organisations to share resources and services. Social enterprises are also promoted as an innovative VCS organisational structure (Council, 2012d; 2014). However, mixed opinions abound concerning social enterprises:

“There is increasing expectation of professionalisation within the [voluntary and community] sector, with detailed knowledge and responsibilities to run management committees and run social enterprises. This is a particular challenge for communities, and groups such as young people can be un-eligible to take on formal roles within community organisations.” (Council, 2012a, p.6-7)

“The council will consider investment in an asset prior to transfer to ensure the building is fit for purpose. However preference will be given to VCS organisations that can lever in external investment.” (Council, 2012d, p.7)

“The next development steps for the organisation are to diversify income streams, making substantial requests to funders for long term funding, and researching the development of a social enterprise to enable [CP2] to become fully self sufficient in the future.” (Council, 2012a, p.8-9)

Three important developments emerge. First, this council endorses social enterprises over other VCS structures due to their reported ability to self-generate income. Second, this council is, once again, encouraging CP2 to transform into a social enterprise¹²⁷. Third, some community groups do not have sufficient skills and resources to be able to manage community asset transfers and social enterprises independently. This results in an unstable **social enterprise – state funded services** dominant practice. Overall, social enterprises are more *privileged* as both public sector services and VCS services are vulnerable to *marking* due to their associations with the *marked* ‘state funded services’ signifier. This nudges both the public sector and VCS to become more like social enterprises, which has significant implications for community development. Unlike national official debate, community development *is* explicitly discussed in local policy debate but under the Partnership discourse, defined as:

“... a two-way process between local communities and organisations that provide services within communities. It is focussed on addressing local needs, as articulated by local communities, and works to give local people a stronger voice in decisions that affect them, and their ability to identify their own solutions to problems.” (Council, 2010b, p.9)

Community development is in a precarious position in this local authority due to the hegemonic Enterprise discourse. First, as discussed earlier in this section, the ‘community development’ signifier is predominantly *marked* within the **neighbourhood management – community development** dominant practice. Secondly, community development is additionally *marked* due to its association with the *marked* ‘state-funded services’ and ‘public sector services’ signifiers. Third, the repeated *privileging* of volunteering *marks* the ‘community development’

¹²⁷ This is detailed in section 5.2.1.2.

signifier further as volunteering reproduces as providing some benefits of community development at comparatively little cost:

“Volunteering is an important indicator of civil society and essential to a vibrant democracy. It is the commitment of time and energy for the benefit of society and the community, and can take many forms. It is undertaken freely and by choice, without concern for financial gain.” (Council, 2010b, p.10)

Again, national policy debate with its focus on ‘Big Society’, civil society and unpaid social action is recalled; reproducing the dominant practices of the Enterprise discourse within the local authority. Yet, community development is not completely *marked* or written-out of local policy debate as there is praise for the work it does:

“[LA district] has adopted the term ‘community development’ as its overall approach to: - Engaging and empowering communities and individuals to be involved in decisions that affect their lives; and – Developing and strengthening communities.” (Council, 2010b, p.9)

“Asset Based community development piloted in 5 neighbourhood management areas with an Active & Healthy focus.” (Council, 2010a, p.26)

The Partnership discourse reproduces in the first excerpt, emphasising communities involved in decisions that affect them over the devolution of service responsibility to citizens. The second extract appears to reproduce the Enterprise discourse where the ‘community development’ signifier is, for once, positively *privileged* and associated with the ‘locally-owned assets’ signifier to enact asset-based community development practices¹²⁸. However, Council (2010a) was released seven months before Cabinet Office (2010c) which introduced the term ‘localism’ into national policy debate. Consequently, it is likely that asset-based community development reproduces here under the Partnership discourse. This is the sole instance asset-based community development is referred to in the local policy texts and there is no trace of the pilot results in subsequent documentation released by this council. Relatedly, the policy texts that explicitly refer to community development¹²⁹ were all released in 2010 before Cabinet Office (2010c). These developments confirm that the Enterprise discourse silenced community development in local policy debate.

¹²⁸ Asset-based community development was introduced under New Labour – see section 2.2.5.

¹²⁹ Council (2010a; 2010b).

The 'volunteering' signifier is also occasionally *marked* due to allegations that volunteering is replacing public sector (paid) work:

"There is a real concern that in the current economic climate that volunteers could be used as 'job replacement' and to 'mop up' opportunities and this could potentially have an impact on the experience a volunteer has." (Council, 2013, p.6)

"There is some cynicism that this national new idea ['Big Society'] is about saving money..." (ibid, p.7)

Despite these claims, volunteering is considerably *privileged* – more so than community development - and is regarded as an essential component in a vibrant civil society (Council 2010a; 2010b; 2012b; 2013).

5.2.1.2 Local authority grassroots debate

Figure 5.1 provides a summary of the three community development projects and the participants of each project who were interviewed¹³⁰. In contrast the local policy debate, community development is *privileged* within all three community development projects in relation to volunteering. The following excerpts are from each community development project:

¹³⁰ This was detailed in section 3.5.3.

Figure 5.1 The community development projects and participants

1. **CP1** - a specialist youth project based in locally-owned, and community-run, community centre managed by a committee. Two professionals (**CP1_Prof1** and **CP1_Prof2**), three volunteers (**CP1_Vol1**, **CP1_Vol2** and **CP1_VolLP1**) and three service users (**CP1_LP1**, **CP1_LP2** and **CP1_LP3**) were interviewed;
2. **CP2** - a one-stop-community-shop that local volunteers initially ran as a project under a different name. CP2 has been receiving community development support from a region-based charity since 2009. Two professionals (**CP2_Prof1** and **CP2_Prof2**), one volunteer (**CP2_Vol1**) and three local people who also volunteer (**CP2_VolLP1**, **CP2_VolLP2** and **CP2_VolLP3**) participated;
3. **CP3** - a solely volunteer-run community advocacy and rights-based provision for children and adults on the autism spectrum, and their parents / carers. The participants include one founder of the project (**CP3_ProfVol1**), three additional volunteers (**CP3_Vol1**, **CP3_Vol2** and **CP3_Vol3**), a service user who also volunteers with the project (**CP3_VolLP1**), and a service user (**CP3_LP1**).

“You can’t really depend on volunteers. The volunteers may, or may not, be there. And it is not exactly fair either. If you start to provide services on a voluntary basis then... good will, will be... taken for granted. And then it will become... a default position. People do not see a need to pay if it is already running.” (CP3_LP1)

“Often with volunteers, I think, they’re not... thinking about the whole project at once. They’re quite focussed on their part of it. So... in terms of development – or new ideas or change – I don’t know how easy it would be to see... things like that happen. Because... there needs to be some kind of driving of change. And people don’t... always want... change. In my older people’s group, it is run by volunteers. There are about five or six ladies. They would just carry on like that... all the time.” (CP2_Prof2)

“[Community development] has a wider vision [than volunteering]. It’s... eh... not being biased to one thing, but looking at the whole community instead of one section of it. And we can sorta.. step back... from emotional involvement and all that as well... we can sorta say ‘Well, this is what’s needed and this is what’s needed’... and not be emotionally involved. And sort it... even if we have to cut services.” (CP1_Prof1)

Each passage *privileges* community development and *marks* volunteering.

CP3_LP1 *marks* volunteering in comparison to paid community development work by regarding volunteers as unreliable in comparison to paid community development workers. Both CP2_Prof2 and CP1_Prof1 *mark* volunteering as solely

project focussed and narrower in scope than community development. Community development workers therefore reproduce as having a particular, and *privileged*, set of skills and values in comparison to volunteers. CP3_LP1 also reverberates the **being overburdened – being empowered** binary established in local policy debate to critique the Enterprise discourse, especially the ‘Big Society’ policy driver. In grassroots debate, the ‘being overburdened’ signifier routinely associates with the Enterprise discourse:

“I think my own family suffered as a result [of my volunteering]. My husband and I actually separated for a time. Because he didn’t agree with the amount of work... the level of work I was doing... for nothing... Nobody can afford to work for nothing... We were working very very long hours... and... it was costing us. I would say that, within the first year, it must have cost me about two and a half thousand [pounds] to volunteer.” (CP3_ProfVol1)

“But... you can’t give give give give... and expect to continue doing that. There is a cost to that. And I suppose [CP3] losing [CP3_ProfVol1] to that was... quite sad. Maybe this is the counsellor in me, but there is a need for people to be... kind to themselves. Within this structure... to keep yourself safe.” (CP3_VolLP1)

These extracts reinforce criticisms raised in local policy debate that the ‘Big Society’ policy agenda can result not only in volunteers being overburdened, but also in volunteer burnout (Council, 2012a). CP3_ProfVol1 left CP3 shortly after the interview as a result of a mental breakdown due to stress and burnout. All projects accused the Coalition government of exploiting volunteers; with participants in CP1 and CP3 criticising the *Workfare* programme as “slave labour” (CP1_Vol1; CP1_Prof1), “helping big businesses... not helping the community” (CP3_Vol3) and “not what volunteering is about” (CP1_Prof1). *Workfare* volunteers were categorised as “enforced volunteers” (CP1_Prof1) and *marked* in comparison to non-enforced volunteers who *want* to volunteer (“it’s ok if the volunteers want to do it” (CP1_Prof1)).

Discussions across the projects regarding the inferiority of volunteering in relation to community development also involved *responsibility*; embedding a **responsibility – lack of responsibility** binary:

“But I think other places – such as this [CP1] – [volunteers] need to have a lot of commitment to actually run it, to be quite honest. There’s a lot of

responsibility going with it... There's starting to go back and thinking: who's responsible for this and I don't do this." (CP1_Prof1)

"I see [community development's] role as a bit of a plumb-line in things. So, actually, I do make decisions about what happens in [CP2]. I do that with the steering group so that we talk about the way that things have been managed, and that local people have a voice in that. But I think that they actually quite like to **not** have that responsibility. We've asked our local people 'who will have the key?' because more activities could happen in the evenings. But they don't want... nobody wants to do it." (CP2_Prof1)

These excerpts echo Taylor's (2011a) criticism of the 'Big Society' policy agenda that "[local people] do not want to run their own services – they just want services that are responsive to their needs" (p.260) and those raised in academic debate that local people running services was government rather than citizen-led (Davoudi & Madanipour, 2013; Dean, 2013; Featherstone *et al.*, 2012). This interrupts the stability of the Enterprise discourse's **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** dominant practice.

Austerity policy, and its implications, is discussed at length in all three community development projects. The two national dominant practices concerning austerity - **austerity/efficiency – overspending** and **austerity policy – 'Big Society' policy agenda** – are embedded, but unstable, within grassroots debate. Discussions in all three community development projects focus on how austerity policy affects community development in particular:

"And I think a lot of people in the community... have problems, and have family issues. But the good thing about this is the youth and community worker that works here. Because... you can have family problems in the morning... and within an hour, you can see the youth and community worker here. And the wheels can be put in motion for the support that you need. Once this community worker [CP1_Prof1] is gone from here... there will be a great gap." (CP1_Vol2)

"There's no way round it. The council will now do anything to save money. I'm not saying that is just [LA Council]. It's every council. It would be the same anywhere. It's just a money-saving... thing." [CP3_Vol3]

"... a lot of charitable organisations do a lot of work that have massive impacts on family's lives. I think we are being expected to take on more

and more. A lot of volunteers... are being expected to do things that maybe they shouldn't be doing. Because they are not qualified to do those roles. Yet you don't get any money to send your staff on the appropriate training courses. But we are expected to... pick up the pieces when the so-called professionals from the council, drop these people with the cuts." (CP3_ProfVol1)

There are two important developments here. First, within both CP1 and CP3, there is a robust perception that austerity policy overshadows the 'Big Society' policy agenda; re-iterating criticisms raised in academic debate (Alcock, 2010a; Chanan & Miller, 2013a; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012). Secondly, volunteering is again criticised as job substitution for professional public sector workers – including community development workers¹³¹ – made redundant during this timeframe. Resultantly, both austerity policy and the 'Big Society' policy agenda are rebuked in the community development projects. However, two participants from CP3 (CP3_Prof1; CP3_Vol3) critique both the local authority council and large VCS organisations for overspending:

"[The council] have got this beautiful brand-new building with a playground that they've spent money on. [a different national autism charity] wanted to be based here and work in partnership with us. And [council] took [the national charity] to some building that's falling down that the council didn't want themselves. If they'd have let them come here we could have had this running for September [2013]. But [they] said 'no'. Because they wanted a community centre from over in [nearby area] to move in here. They're giving it to them rent free as well. That office and the hall (points behind him). And yet, they could have earned half a million in rent from [national charity]. And yet, [the council] are supposedly tightening their belts." (CP3_Vol3)

These assertions legitimate some overspending criticisms made by central government against local governments (Cameron, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010f; 2011c). Subsequently, the 'overspending' signifier remains *marked* within grassroots debate; relationally *privileging* the 'austerity/efficiency' signifier and showcasing the presence of the Enterprise discourse. This excerpt also establishes that the Partnership discourse is being written-out of this local authority. The council-run community centre referred to in this extract was recently leased to a VCS organisation through a community asset transfer, and there were plans for other local community centres to follow suit (CP3_Vol3; CP3_ProfVol1). Relatedly, a **voluntary & community sector services – public sector services**

¹³¹ Although CP1_Vol2 refers to CP1_Prof1 as a "community worker", CP1_Prof1 self-identified as a community development worker before redundancy.

dominant practice appears across all three projects where VCS services were *privileged* over public sector services. In CP1 this practice is unstable as, at the time of interview, CP1 employed council workers¹³². Overall, CP1_Vol2 *privileges* that the community centre is not council-owned but recognises the need for financial support from the local authority council to stay afloat:

“And this community centre was passed over from the miners to the people of [local area]. For the benefit of the people from [local area]... It’s never been a council building, but it has been supported over the years; as in, with a yearly grant.” (ibid)

In CP2 and CP3 however, the ‘voluntary and community sector services’ signifier is unswervingly *privileged* over ‘public sector services’:

“Structurally, we are an independent charity. And we are a company... registered with a guarantee. We have a relationship with [national charity] who planted us. So, we’re... we’re now independent but we buy in management support. Now that – as a project – is a helpful piece of work because [national charity] are an established organisation that have established finance and health and safety... and procedural infrastructure. So, in terms of our infrastructure... we kind of... punch above our weight in the sense that if you genuinely had a small community project like this, you wouldn’t have the health and safety procedures and the whistleblowing procedures... which are actually very helpful for us... in terms of funding and people... taking us seriously.” (CP2_Prof2)

“You can come to places like this [CP3]. That’s why you need places like this. That’s one thing about being an independent place. We’re not bullied... can’t be bullied by the council... [the council] just don’t care. As long as they are doing enough to tick a few boxes, they are quite happy... They give money... but its ring-fenced money. You’ve got to do what they want you to do with it. So they can... tick boxes when they get evaluated.” (CP3_Vol3)

There are three core developments here. First, that VCS organisations stress the importance of having some independence from councils. Second, that larger charities have more influence and power over smaller charities to obtain successful outcomes for funding. Third, that councils can put pressure on the VCS, through grant funding, to act in certain ways; corroborating, to a certain extent, the Enterprise discourse’s critique of local government (Bunyan, 2012; Cameron, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2011c). The entrenchment of both the **innovation** –

¹³² CP1 no longer employs full-time council workers but ‘buys in’ some sessional council provision.

dependency/bureaucracy and the social enterprise – state funded services

dominant practices within all projects exacerbates these developments:

“I think there will be a full-time community worker re-assigned to my role in [local area] for the youth groups. But they will be based at a different centre. And they’ll be in charge of a number of different centres. So... [the council] is not gonna make the same mistake... so the centre has not got a worker... so the centre’s not gonna be dependent on the worker doing things for them... that’s the way [the council] are looking at things.” (CP1_Prof1)

“So... that’s where the social enterprise thing comes in – which is a thing we are exploring. So, if we could establish a viable business that had an income stream, then we would be... self-sustaining... and the income stream that would come from that would maybe... be ten to fifteen thousand. Then, potentially, you would have a self-sustaining unit. That’s sort of my vision financially... so that... if the funding bus squished us [the paid community development workers]... then the whole thing [CP2], at least, would be able to operate without us.” (CP2_Prof2)

“Ah mean, if we raised £10 000 a year through social enterprise... you could provide a pretty decent service. [It] could fund the likelihood of... one or two activities a week. Like a support group or... whatever. An event that... people could come to, you know?” (CP3_Vol2)

Two important developments emerge from these extracts. First, that this council perceives community centres with dedicated community workers as financially dependent on local government. Second, that both CP2 and CP3 are moving more towards the structure of a social enterprise to be more financially sustainable and, hence, independent from local government¹³³. But, CP1 *is* a social enterprise and it struggles financially in the temporal perspective under study:

“[The community centre] has never been a council building, but it has been supported over the years with a yearly grant. The grant and room rental has sustained the costs of running this building and its services... Over the years the grant funding has decreased significantly. And I think this year... in 2013... it will be reduced more... and possibly next year, more again... until there is no grant. And I think we will be in that position, then, when we have to find that extra shortfall. Most of the rooms here are let five days a week... and also on a weekend. And it’s going to be difficult to try to raise more revenue to keep this building open, and for the use of the community. It means increasing rent [for the

¹³³ That this council was nudging CP2, under the Enterprise discourse, to do this was highlighted in section 5.2.1.1.

rooms]. But if you increase your rent too much, people can't afford it. And then a lot of groups disband. Because it means they have to pass the money on to the people, and people just don't have the money. Not in this area." (CP1_Vol2)

This excerpt delineates the unsustainability of the Enterprise discourse's promotion of social enterprises, i.e. that those who can least afford to pay for services are those who will be required to pay more to keep social enterprises financially afloat. As CP1_Vol2 demonstrates, a social enterprise still requires council and independent grant funding, in addition to service users being able to contribute towards the costs of the services. With both council and independent grant funding dwindling each year under austerity, CP1_Vol2 predicts that CP1's social enterprise structure will become financially dependent on raising the rental price for each room for community groups to use, and local people charged more for services. The Enterprise discourse's overarching neoliberalism is evident, with this discourse's calls for innovation and bottom-up service provision unveiled as a manoeuvre to ensure that communities and neighbourhoods both pay for and provide their own services (cf. Bailey, Bramley & Hastings, 2015; Dean, 2013; Tam, 2011; Walker & Walker, 2011). This is both consolidated and contested with the embedding of the **bottom-up service provision – top-down service provision** dominant practice within, especially, CP2; closely associated with the 'community development' signifier:

"But it was always the idea... that [CP2] would be owned and managed... by local people. Obviously because that is... good practice... and good community development because... we haven't got the right to... march into someone else's locality... someone else's estate... basically... and, somehow, impose on them how [the community development workers] think they should live or how it should be done. And local people are best placed to say... they know themselves what the issues are... and... know what the needs are really... We're here to support that." (CP2_Prof2)

Community development reproduces as a process that can sustainably assist community projects to become, over time, bottom-up and sustainable. This counter-argument is absent from both national and local official debate. Relatedly, CP1 highlights that, in this timeframe, neighbourhood management is replacing community development to facilitate the development of bottom-up service provision and community asset transfers:

"I know that there is Neighbourhood Management in the area that should, maybe, be helping places like [CP1]. But they think that because [the community centre] is not owned by [the council] then they don't need to get involved. They've actually said that. I would have thought that was the whole idea, to help volunteers and volunteer-led community groups. But it doesn't seem to be going down that line... I'm a full-time worker in a setting that is being pulled out so... really they should be getting themselves involved in this place... As this place is running as they want places to run. But instead they are working with [another community centre] which is owned by [the council]... It's more than likely a business thing. Probably going to set them up to be commissioning out. You know, buying services and stuff. That's happening a lot already. All community centres are going to go down that road at some point." (CP1_Prof1)

These findings echo those from both national and local official debate where practices of volunteering, social enterprise and neighbourhood management are *privileged* as bottom-up, innovative and efficient; and enable local people to become more active and involved in service provision within their local neighbourhoods. Resultantly, community development is increasingly nudged to re-articulate within voluntary-run community projects, social enterprise or neighbourhood management. The next section moves on to discuss how the Transformation discourse re-articulates in this local authority policy and grassroots debate.

5.3 The Transformation discourse

5.3.1 *The good neighbourhood, community spirit and personal transformation*

The application of the first four stages of PDA on the twenty-nine selected texts of local official and oppositional debate established that no oppositional practices of the first binary cluster of the Transformation discourse - *the good society, political transformation and Blue Labour / Red Tory* - were reproduced. Additionally, not one of the oppositional practices constituting the second binary cluster – the *good neighbourhood, community spirit and personal transformation* - were articulated within local *official* debate. The second binary cluster develops substantially

through interconnections of nine oppositional practices across all three community development projects. These oppositional practices are: **community spirit – lack of community spirit; connected to others – not connected to others; helping/supporting others – not helping/supporting others; being part of a group/family – not being part of a group/family; self-confidence – lack of self-confidence; joy/aliveness – depression/listlessness; insiders – outsiders; law/norm abiding – deviant/criminal and learning and development – no learning and development**; with the *floating signifiers* of: ‘service provision only’, ‘family values’, ‘chavs’, ‘alternative young people’, ‘young people’, ‘older people’, ‘white’ and ‘black’¹³⁴. Only one of these oppositional practices (**community spirit – lack of community spirit**) reproduces in national debate. This suggests that the Transformation discourse establishing within the local authority debate may be a local variation of the Transformation or another similar discourse available at a national level. The next three sections move on to demonstrate how this second binary cluster reproduces within each community development project to construct a local authority-wide Transformation discourse.

5.3.1.1 Community development project 1

CP1’s ethos reveals a steady commitment to promoting a good neighbourhood, community spirit and, especially, personal transformation. The **connected to others – not connected to others** binary ties these themes together as a fairly stable oppositional practice:

“[CP1] has changed my life for the better... There isn’t that many people that I still talk to from... back when I first started. But there are some that I do still get on with... Through them I’ve now met other people as well. That I would consider really good friends. We’ve got similar sorts of interests as well... If it wasn’t for [CP1] I would never have met them.” (CP1_Vol1)

“I was bored in the house. And... I’ve got no friends where I live. So, eh, I’ve got nothing to do. So, I thought I could come here and meet

¹³⁴ See Appendix I.

people... I just keep coming back. Coz it gets us out the house to meet people.” (CP1_LP1)

“... most of the people that come here go to the same school... Since I’ve come here I’ve known a couple of people from school who are the same. And, em, I can walk along the corridor [at school] and say ‘Hi!’ and... it’s great. Coz now I’m not just this loner person anymore. Now I’m socialising and... getting in there. It’s just fantastic!” (CP1_LP2)

All three participants report gaining friendship and companionship through their involvement in CP1 that has resulted in personal transformation, i.e. widening social networks has helped the participants to ‘transform’ into more sociable people. Neighbourhood transformation also connects to this oppositional practice:

“And the community centre here, I would say, has been a base... so that everyone can kind of contribute when they can. In ways of having meetings and open days and festivals... It brings the community together.” (CP1_Vol2)

“I’d like [CP1] to be known more. I’d like people to come and watch us. I’d like people to want to join. I’d like people to... appreciate it more... for what it is, and what it does for the community.” (CP1_LP3)

Themes of the good neighbourhood (“open days and festivals”) and community spirit (“brings the community together”) are highlighted in these excerpts. These themes also advance through the **being part of a group/family – not being part of a group/family** and **helping/supporting others – not helping supporting others** oppositional practices:

“Everyone [in CP1] became more like a family. Coz we all discovered that we had the same music style. The majority of the group are into rock music. Like Iron Maiden, Mayhem, Dead Sarah... all that sort of stuff. And through that time I’ve been able to notice people, and to progress... and we’ve all come together. And we’ve been supporting people in the group. We’ve been accepting them... It’s amazing to think that... since day one... it’s become more like... a family.” (CP1_LP2)

“I love helping the community. I love helping the people here. And someone always comes and talks about their problems and stuff. I’m like ‘why are you coming to me? I can’t do anything!’ (laughs).” (CP1_LP3)

The synergy of these oppositional practices establishes that CP1 fosters an environment where all involved report being part of a collective and support others’ development within that collective. Nevertheless, the **community spirit – lack of**

community spirit oppositional practice partially de-stabilises due to the introduction of the ‘family values’ *floating signifier*:

“We would all protest [if CP1 shut down]. But, I don’t think it would be the community [that would protest]. To use my background a bit, I know for a fact my nanna [CP1_Vol2] will because... [CP1] is something that’s been part of [her family] for years. I mean, I came in, then [name1] came in, and then a few years later my sister [CP1_LP2] came in and my cousin came in for a bit. And my other cousin [CP1_LP3] is here too. You know [name2]? Her uncle is [CP1_Prof2]. So, it is a family really... *It’s not a club that’s for everyone.*” (CP1_VolLP1, *emphasis added*)

This extract illustrates that CP1 may actually be fostering *family* spirit more than community spirit as most of the community development workers, volunteers and local people involved in CP1 are related. This introduces a stable **insider – outsider** oppositional practice within CP1. Family members are automatically labelled as *insiders* and can gain access to CP1. Non-family members, and those who live in particular local areas, are relationally *marked* as *outsiders*:

“You don’t see that many new people coming in. [CP1] is not that type of a club that is open for everyone. I don’t think. I think it’s more or less... if you’re in the club, then you bring people in. You make bands, you make groups in here.” (CP1_VolLP1)

“A lot of the people from that side of the road [a neighbouring area where there had been little contact for 20 years] didn’t frequent this [community centre]. I don’t know what the problem was there. We had to build bridges with them to bring them over here... who now use the community facility.” (CP1_Prof1)

From these excerpts, for outsiders to ‘transform’ into insiders they must be invited into CP1 by an existing insider. An example of this was the local people from the nearby area who, after 20 years, began using the services at the community centre. The clear demarcations between outsiders and insiders advance through an unstable **alternative young people – chavs** oppositional practice and a related, but stable, **law/norm abiding – deviant/criminal** oppositional practice within this project:

“[a different youth club] was just sorta a general youth club. There wasn’t a lot going on. There was sorta, like, some BTech stuff... The closest thing to music I had was, eh, the back room where all the chavs would congregate and, eh, pretend to be DJs.” (CP1_Vol1)

"I want to show what we can do. I might not have much but... I've got a little and everyone here is talented. We've amazing singers. Like [CP1_LP2] and [name]. I think it would be a good message... I just want [people outside CP1] to see that we are not just druggie, Air Max wearing losers. And when you walk through [local park], you see the odd needle with... whatever drug you put in needles. And then [the people outside CP1] will say, 'that's ok, because they've got good talent'." (CP1_LP3)

The 'chav' signifier articulates as young people who "pretend to be DJs", take drugs and are "Air Max wearing losers". They are *marked* in relation to alternative young people who like rock music ("(I)like Iron Maiden, Mayhem, Dead Sarah... all that sort of stuff" (CP1_LP2)) and have musical talent; namely, the young people who attend CP1. Nevertheless, the **alternative young people – chavs** binary is unstable as two participants portray an explicit *ethical responsibility* to 'transform' chavs into alternative (non-chav) young people to achieve insider status:

"I'd like to see more people getting involved because... you see people committing crimes only at the age of 15. And I think that if this group developed – and got bigger – I think more people could get involved in something they liked and... not doing graffiti and all that stuff on the street." (CP1_LP2)

"I used to be chavvy. I used to be so mean. I used to judge everyone straight away. If they didn't like the kind of stuff that I liked, I didn't want to be friends with them. And now I'm friends with the... weirdest... and craziest... and friendliest people I've ever met. So, I look back and just think that I was so stupid for just judging people straight away. So... when you can show people that... it changes people for the better... people will be inspired and hopefully want to come." (CP1_LP3)

This *ethical responsibility* to transform chavs into *privileged* and *superior* alternative young people – and/or deviant/criminal young people into *privileged* and *superior* law/norm abiding community members – under this Local Transformation discourse is discussed further in section 6.3.2.1. The theme of personal transformation within CP1 advances with the **joy/aliveness – depression/listlessness** oppositional practice:

"When I finished college I had a... nervous breakdown. And... that was the September of 2011... my mum came up with the idea 'why don't you... go back to the community centre and volunteer there?'. I hadn't actually thought of that, until my mum brought it up. I just kind of stopped for a moment and thought... yeah! Yeah, I'll do that. So, I got in touch with [CP1_Prof1] that same day an' she said, 'yeah, just come along'" (CP1_Vol1)

“I come here for the laugh. It’s gotta be for the laugh because... there’s so many good people here. I love them all. From day one... from coming I thought this was the best place to be. I couldn’t... I can’t still wait for every Tuesday. I always think ‘I can’t still wait for Tuesday!’.” (CP1_VolLP1)

Once again, personal transformation is pronounced and CP1 articulates as a space that ‘transforms’ states of depression and listlessness into joy. These developments connect to a stable **self-confidence – lack of self-confidence** oppositional practice with all local people (CP1_LP1; CP1_LP2; CP1_LP3) reporting that their involvement in CP1 has facilitated their transformation into more confident individuals. This connects to the **learning and development – no learning and development** oppositional practice crucial to personal transformation:

“I want [to volunteer at CP1] for the experience... because, if I can socialise in youth clubs then it will help me to socialise in the future... so I’ll be less shy. Because I don’t want to be a shy teacher coz... I’ll get the mick taken out of us! I know for a fact I will!” (CP1_VolLP1)

“I’ve been in this job since 2007. Throughout that time... a lot has been the same with the amount of young people that has come through the doors and... learned from the project. You know... they’ve had no skills or very little skills and they’ve progressed into playing in bands themselves... and band management.” (CP1_Prof2)

Both extracts emphasise CP1 as a developmental space where local people and volunteers can hone specialist and employability skills for the future (“less shy”, “band management”). Relatedly, community development processes are consistently *privileged* as superior to solely providing local services:

“[CP1_Prof1] had, basically, the main role [in CP1]. She would be the person who... em... would encourage us to speak about... what we want... in [CP1]. Towards... changes we could make, and things like that. And she is also... a very supportive person and... coz... if you have a problem, a very personal problem, you could go to [CP1_Prof1] and she would help you.” (CP1_LP2)

“[CP1 and the community centre] is providing people with resources and services that they need within the area. It’s... actually empowering people as well... to actually be able to run those services themselves. I mean... it’s like the [nursery provision] group. We started that as community workers but now we are away from that. It’s a service that runs by itself so we’re leaving something... even if we are not here. I

hope [the management committee] can do the same with [CP1]. I think that's really the values of it... So that local people own their power, really." (CP1_Prof1)

"[The community centre] is like, you know, the hub. You know, the more things that are going on in the area then people can get involved. You know... if, for instance... if people see, so much things going on here... it breaks down barriers... you know... And that's what community development's about." (CP1_Prof2)

In the first extract, the community development worker is *privileged* as pivotal to promoting both social and personal transformation within CP1 ("encourages us", "towards changes we could make"). Similar to CP2, the second extract *privileges* community development as a process that can sustainably assist community projects to become, *over time*, bottom-up and sustainable. This is different from the Enterprise discourse which focusses on volunteering, neighbourhood management and social enterprise to more rapidly 'empower' local people to run services. Finally, the third extract articulates community development as a process that breaks down barriers to achieve both personal and neighbourhood transformation. Community development is clearly *privileged*, enacted and legitimated within CP1 under the Local Transformation discourse.

5.3.1.2 Community development project 2

All oppositional practices of CP1 replicate with minor differences in CP2. CP2 also establishes a steady commitment towards the development of a good neighbourhood, community spirit and personal transformation. Like CP1, the **connected to others – not connected to others** oppositional practice ties these three themes together:

"Different volunteers bring different things, let's say. We've got some volunteers who... from the estate... form a sense of community and... there's a link between the community and us through those volunteers. And some we know as parents through the kids through the [club1], [club2] and after school clubs. Or they've started coming along to the young mum's group or the adult education groups. That's a real... coup for us, really... that people from the estate come into help. And the younger girls who come on a Tuesday and a Wednesday to help us

cook. It's a step towards, eh, some of the... younger people and younger mums changing what was classed as the old women's group. Now it's not because we've got younger people coming in to cook as well." (CP2_Prof1)

"I think it's more on a personal level [that people go to CP2]... like all my friends go so... you know... a lot of the kids all go to school together so... There's a couple of kids who go to a different school, but they seem to have integrated quite well. But, with the women that I've met... downstairs and that... they seem to come with people they know so... I think it's a lot more than that... a stronger connection." (CP2_Vol1)

CP2 is clearly regarded as a base that fosters the connectivity, and positive feeling, between the people living on the estate; whether as a local person or as a volunteer. Some groups appear to be more connected than others, i.e. the older women, but this is changing through more projects developing at CP2. These progressions overlap with the **helping/supporting others – not helping/supporting others** oppositional practice:

"I'd like to feel that I'm... making a difference and, em, helping somebody... even if it's just helping the kids with their homework or, em... you don't know about their personal circumstances so... you know, if people will help them. So... they think that... well they know... that they can come to us and someone will give them a hand." (CP2_Vol1)

"Because I just love coming [to CP2]. I just do. I think that if you give kids the love that they are looking for then, it doesn't matter what they've got going on in the house... they'll come back. And, if you've got love to give, you shouldn't keep it... you should give it... If you give it, you get it back." (CP2_Vol1)

There is a clear commitment in CP2 to develop a good neighbourhood where people connect to each other and support each other. Once again, CP2 reproduces as a space where these processes can be fostered. This is accentuated with the embedded, but unstable, **community spirit – lack of community spirit** oppositional practice which is strongly tied to the 'community development' signifier:

"It's totally different again. It went from being... a lovely estate... to a horrible estate. Because everyone used to fight and stuff like that. Nobody used to speak. I mean, at one point – years ago - we were actually named as 'mini-Belfast'. But now... [since CP2 started] it's a

totally different estate. Everybody's calmed down. Everybody's getting to know each other better." (CP2_VolLP1)

"I mean, I've been here since I was five years old... and the difference in the estate [since community development intervention] now is just... (pause). I mean, don't get me wrong, it's still not what it was years ago. But it's getting better. It is getting better." (CP2_VolLP3)

"I've lived on this estate for... twenty-six years. And it's only in the last six years that we have been involved in anything. They've tried all kinds but... (pause) the man across the road ... he put a stop to it all." (CP2_VolLP2)

Community development reproduces in each extract as pivotal to the fostering of community spirit on the estate, which had been at an all-time low for years prior to a regional charity becoming involved in CP2, in 2009, and assigning community development workers. Before this, a small group of local residents had attempted to run CP2 as a voluntary community group but this had left "bad blood" (CP2_Vol1) on the estate and broken relations (CP2_VolLP1; CP2_VolLP2; CP2_Prof2). In addition, these extracts, especially from CP2_VolLP2, highlight an **insider – outsider** oppositional practice similar to CP1. In CP2, this oppositional practice interconnects with three binaries: **older people – young people, white – black** and **law/norm abiding – deviant/criminal**. In addition to the previous "elite group" (CP2_Prof1) of volunteers and "the man across the road" (CP2_VolLP2), outsiders are also *marked* as culpable for the loss of community spirit on the estate:

"[The outsiders] live in [house number]. And... we didn't know who were getting in there... and we had that for about four years. And we just knew if you... seen a coloured child outside... One morning the police cars were there... with the guns and with the hats on. And they took one of them away... who was wanted for murder in Germany. We have them, and they come up from London. And they've been paedophiles. And all their dirty literature comes over into your garden. And they just disappear as quick as they come." (CP2_VolLP2)

"Coz [teenagers and young adults] just can't be bothered [to come to CP2]. Basically, they're in a rut and it's nearly all... coz now there's a lot of people I don't know and there's a lot of new families coming on [the estate]... The young ones that are coming on to here, you know, they're single parents, they've got kids and basically they can't be bothered. By

the time they get up out of bed, the day is over. Do you know what I mean?" (CP2_VolLP3)

"What was said was that the council put bad families beside good families... hoping that it would... rub off. But it didn't happen. It just... rapidly went downhill basically... But, I think that now a lot of families that are here... they don't work and they're all one-parent families. And I think this is the problem. The parents have got no discipline. And the kids have got nothing. There's nothing for them to do. And everything's money. And one parent families haven't got it. And if you've got three and four kids, you can't afford to do it. It's as simple as that."
(CP2_VolLP3)

From these excerpts blacks, teenagers and young single parents are 'othered' in this estate as deviant and/or criminal outsiders ("they", "coloured", "paedophiles", foreign, "can't be bothered", "bad families", "no discipline"). The introduction of CP2, and its community development-based values and principles, has helped to deconstruct some of these engrained binary pairs:

"And [name] who volunteers on a Wednesday. Now, that's really interesting. She's an Indian girl. Really interesting change. Really challenging some of the stereotypes that, I think, are on the estate. You've probably seen... they only kind of... Asian... kind of sub-continent influence on the estate is [name] at the shop! I think we get along quite well but... on the estate he has a tough time. He has had a tough time as people on the estate have grown up with a... distrust of... the Indian shopkeeper." (CP2_Prof1)

"[CP2] is changing. It was always women that we had when we started. When [CP2_Prof2] started here. Eh, it was classed as... and some people still class it as... the old ladies place. But now... we are seeing change with the youth and the children. This is a place where stuff happens. We still have older ladies. But now you've got young mums working with, eh, adult education. And with the children and young people, with the [three different clubs]. And now... we're kind moving up... in the world of men's community work as well. I mean, that's the real toughy, isn't it? That's the... thing to break, you know? And maybe that... northern, kind of male... bravado 'we don't need your help and so on, you know?'" (CP2_Prof1)

CP2's commitment to developing a good neighbourhood underpinned by community spirit follows two processes. First, is maximum involvement of residents of the estate as service users and/or volunteers by catering to their needs. Second, is breaking down, with tact and care, some of the barriers that inhibit the occurrence of the first process. These two extracts demonstrate how attitudinal

barriers, especially, are being broken down through community development processes, i.e. by introducing 'others' ('foreigners', young people, men) into CP2 as service users and volunteers. In addition, volunteering reproduces as an intrinsic part of community development practice, i.e. that volunteering helps to facilitate goals of community development, such as breaking down barriers and attitudinal change. This contrasts with the Enterprise discourse which does not acknowledge the community development values and methods inherent within some volunteering practices.

The **learning and development – no learning and development** oppositional practice advances these findings further and additionally reinforces CP2's commitment to personal transformation:

"My life's starting to come to an end; but, the way the schools are going, everything's coming back around and full circle. So, whatever I've learned now, is still going to help [the children at CP2] in a way. So, it's been a real good... learning centre [CP2]. It really is... You mix in with the children, so children mix in with older people. So everybody learns together. You know, and that's good." (CP2_VolLP2)

"The courses are my main reason for coming... Coz I used to work all the time until, obviously, I became ill... with the depression. And then obviously I had my son who... but I wanted to go back into child care. I want to work in child care actually. But you obviously need your English [qualification]... which I've got through here. You need your Maths. And you need the qualification in child care. [CP2_Prof2] set it up to do them here [CP2]. But the funding to get a lot of the courses has been... a gradual build up. But now that we've got it, it has been continuing." (CP2_Vol1)

The community development approach of CP2 pledges to break down barriers – both at a neighbourhood and at a personal level – that inhibit people from learning and developing *together* on the estate. The first extract establishes a commitment to intergenerational work where both the younger and older generations share and develop knowledge within a structured, yet community-based, learning environment. The second extract is less concerned with intergenerational work but demonstrates CP2's assurance to providing formal education in an informal / familiar environment. This stable binary interconnects with two additional oppositional practices: **joy/aliveness – depression/listlessness** and **self-confidence – lack of self-confidence**.

“I used to hide in the house. Panicking. With anxiety. And attacks. I suffer from really bad mental health problems. Coming in here [CP2] has given me the chance to... meet different people. For all that we live on the same estate... some people... would just walk past or often the odd ‘Hi’. But now we have [CP2]... it’s a lot more... better because I’m gaining qualifications to go back into work eventually. And confidence with people, and going different places with [CP2_Prof2] and [CP2_Prof1]. I feel a lot more confident.” (CP2_VolLP1)

“And confidence. I think [CP2_Prof2] gives us confidence. And [CP2_Prof1]’s given the kids confidence. [CP2]’s given them self-esteem... you know, to go out and do things... it’s just fantastic I mean, you see a lot of young ones that are just so shy and quiet and they’ve come out of their shells now. The choir... and they made a CD and... I thought it was fantastic. I mean some kids have never done that in their life.” (CP2_VolLP3)

Similar to CP1, community development is *privileged* within CP2 as a process that facilitates both personal transformation and the creation of a good neighbourhood with a strong community spirit. This personal transformation can involve gaining self-confidence, learning new skills, obtaining qualifications, and overcoming stereotypical and discriminatory attitudes.

5.3.1.3 Community development project 3

Only some of the oppositional practices of both CP1 and CP2 replicate within CP3. This is because this local variant of the Transformation discourse is not the oppositional discourse to the Enterprise discourse in CP3. The oppositional discourse is the Social Justice / Democracy discourse which is discussed in section 5.4.2.2. Nevertheless, the Local Transformation discourse *is* present in CP3 as some participants reproduce elements of it, especially concerning personal transformation. The fairly stable **connected to others – not connected to others** oppositional practice replicates throughout some transcripts:

“When I’m here [CP3]... I think it helps my mental health and that because... I’m not in the house... just doing nothing. So, it’s really important for me to... I think the people who are involved [in CP3] really care. Coz they know what it is like... to have someone who is autistic or... on the spectrum. And I think that is really important.” (CP3_Vol1)

“You don’t feel isolated here [CP3]. You don’t feel alone. That’s very important. [Client] has no family. I don’t either. I have parents in Japan but not in this country. Here, you meet people in a... similar sort of situation. You can see that... against all odds... they are not quitters... they don’t... give up. Just fight on. And that... gives you some mental strength.” (CP3_LP1)

“[CP3]’s about having somewhere to go... to know that there is somebody there... that will help answer those questions. Rather than just allow them to go round and round in your head and wonder... and not get anywhere. So... I think that’s really important. And [CP3] is where people don’t feel isolated. Because I think [having an autistic child] can be an isolating experience.” (CP3_VolLP1)

From these excerpts a **helping/supporting others – not helping/supporting others** oppositional practice develops (“the people... really care”, “gives you mental strength”, “they know what it’s like”) in parallel to the **connected to others - not connected to others** oppositional practice (“I’m not in the house”; “you don’t feel isolated here”, “having somewhere to go”). Both oppositional practices underpin some of the main values and principles practiced in CP3. These include: seeing the person in the situation, caring about others, valuing differences, supporting vulnerable people and increasing awareness of autism:

“Well, I’ve known [client] for almost ten years. But I only started caring for him when he was living in a homeless people’s home. And they had an... upper age policy. And he reached the upper age, so they asked him to leave. And... he was suicidal. And so... that’s why I got involved. Found him... council flat. So I really started looking after him in 2009... If I hadn’t helped he would be out... in the woods. And this time he would not last. With his health... he would probably die. I mean, he already has history of serious suicide attempts. He ended up in intensive care and things. And... he’s extremely vulnerable.” (CP3_LP1)

“Organisations like this do it because... we love our kids. I had this group and forty-nine men came to it and... they were angry, you know? And at the end... I couldn’t get rid of them, you know? It was in a school in [city] like and... they wanted to talk. And this guy says at the end ‘Look, we’re all here coz we love our kids!’. He was right. We’re here [CP3]. We love our kids. And we want to do something. And we want to help other people too.” (CP3_Vol2)

“[CP3] is trying to make [LA district] an autism friendly borough; which it is not. [CP3] is just trying to make life better for people with autism...

from childhood to pension age. There's no age limit to when you can come here." (CP3_Vol3)

Although there is a commitment within CP3 to 'transform' this local authority into an autism friendly borough, the **community spirit – lack of community spirit** binary is not reproduced here. Therefore, the themes of developing a good neighbourhood and promoting community spirit are not pronounced; re-affirming that the Local Transformation discourse is not the dominant discourse here. This echoes with the theme of personal transformation as only one participant reproduces its oppositional practices (**joy/aliveness – depression/listlessness, self-confidence – lack of self-confidence** and **learning and development – no learning and development**). Before joining CP3 as a volunteer this participant's long-standing mental health issues were exacerbated by recent diagnoses that one of her sons was autistic and the other schizophrenic. This participant was "in a terrible state" when she met the two founders of CP3:

"And [the two founders] eventually got us to go to the support group meeting [at CP3]. And then [CP3_ProfVol1] said that they were moving into an office and that I would come in a couple of hours a week. That's what I did. It was a nightmare. But I carried on doing it and I have gained a bit of confidence. So, my role has changed quite a bit actually. I've started to make more decisions. Been on a few home visits to people, which I really enjoy... And I've recently started a support group with [CP3_Vol3]. Carers of Schizophrenia. So that... through being here [CP3]... it has given us the confidence to start that. And it would never have happened I think, without being here." (CP3_Vol1)

This participant has undertaken significant personal transformation during her involvement in CP3. She has become more confident, less anxious and has gained valuable skills to enable her to help and support others who have undergone similar experiences. This chapter now turns to discuss the re-articulation of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse in this case study local authority.

5.4 The Social Justice / Democracy discourse

5.4.1 *Equality, rights and social justice*

The application of the first four stages of PDA established that the first binary cluster of Social Justice / Democracy discourse of community development – *equality, rights and social justice* – partially reproduces in both this local authority policy and grassroots debate. In local policy, an unstable **equal opportunities – equality/social justice** oppositional practice presents; but no other oppositional practices within this binary cluster are available throughout the policy texts. However, this binary cluster develops, with some disparities, in CP3 through the oppositional practices of: **disability awareness – lack of disability awareness; rights – responsibilities; campaigning / activism – local government** and **professional competence – professional incompetence**; and the interconnected *floating signifier* of ‘voluntary and community sector services’. The application of the first four stages of PDA also established that the second binary cluster of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse – *a radical and democratic civil society movement* – does not develop within either local policy or grassroots debate.

5.4.1.1 Local authority policy debate

The **equal opportunities – equality/social justice** oppositional practice is present, but unstable, in this local authority policy debate; with the ‘equal opportunities’ signifier, overall, more *privileged*. This oppositional practice is introduced in Council (2010a):

“[LA district] has undergone a journey of transformation over the last 20 years, based on a long-term vision and commitment to unlocking the potential of [LA district]. Vision 2030 aims to improve the wellbeing and *equality of opportunity* for everyone in [local authority district] so that all residents and businesses can fulfil their potential.” (p.4, *emphasis added*)

From this excerpt alone it is not clear if the Enterprise or the Transformation discourse is present as both discourses focus on overcoming economic disparity

through equality of opportunity (Blond, 2010a; 2010c; Cabinet Office, 2011c; 2012a; Glasman, 2011). Yet, a focus on equalities is also present in local policy debate:

“Central to our ambitions for in Vision 2030 is that all residents in [LA district] have the opportunities and support they need to fulfil their potential, and inequalities are addressed to narrow the gap in outcomes.” (Council, 2010b, p.13)

“Our vision is for all residents in [local authority district] to have a good quality of life irrespective of where in the borough they live, their culture, if they are disabled, their age, religion or belief, ethnicity, gender or gender identity or sexual orientation. By targeting inequality, we will ensure fair access to services and opportunities working to eradicate discrimination and harassment.” (Council, 2010a, p.30)

“Equality: the [local authority] Strategic Partnership and the voluntary and community sector working together will promote equality for all people, and tackle discrimination on the basis of race, age, disability, gender and gender identity, religion or belief.” (Council, 2010b, p.3)

There is a clear commitment to equalities work that *privileges* the ‘equality/social justice’ signifier occasionally, i.e. focus on discrimination based on sociocultural factors. However, explicit discussions on social justice within the local policy texts are absent, with debate focussing on individuals fulfilling their potential and narrowing gaps in outcomes. This indicates that the Social Justice / Democracy discourse is not present here. The third excerpt arguably reproduces the Partnership discourse and its focus on partnership working to address inequalities (cf. Lister, 2003; 2005). Once again, Council (2010a; 2010b) texts, released shortly after the formation of the Coalition government, are the texts reproducing the Partnership discourse. Thus, it is likely the Partnership discourse that is articulating the ‘equality/social justice’ signifier here. Both explicit and implicit discussions of community development, in relation to the promotion of equality and equal opportunities, confirm this:

“We have safeguarded 878 children and adults, provided support services to 1,131 women who suffered abuse and worked to prevent young people and adults becoming involved in offending (2007 to 2009).” (Council, 2010a, p.8)

“A community allotment/garden in each neighbourhood management area in conjunction with local community (incorporating disabled access) (by 2013).” (Council, 2010a, p.20)

The first excerpt, in isolation, could be interpreted as a reproduction of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse as it is rights-based and equality focussed with community development working with the most marginalised groups. In the second excerpt, both community development and neighbourhood management focus on equalities work with disabled people which includes access to community allotments. However, the lack of (re)production of other dominant practices of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse in these local policy texts, including explicit discussions on social justice, counters these developments. Therefore, the instability of the **equal opportunities – equality/social justice** binary in local official debate is due to the presence of the Partnership discourse that is competing with the Enterprise discourse for hegemonic articulation in two local policy texts¹³⁵. Despite this competition, the Enterprise discourse remains dominant as these extracts demonstrate that the emphasis on community development has ended (“2007 to 2009”) and there has been a significant shift from community development to neighbourhood management (“each neighbourhood management area”).

5.4.1.2 Local authority grassroots debate

The Social Justice / Democracy discourse only establishes within CP3. Alternative oppositional practices reproduce in CP3 in comparison to the oppositional practices outlined within this binary cluster academic debate¹³⁶. But, these ‘new’ oppositional practices descend from those reproduced in academic debate. A **disability awareness – lack of disability awareness** oppositional practice emerges in CP3 which focusses on the injustice experienced by autistic people and their families / carers in this local authority:

¹³⁵ Council (2010a; 2010b).

¹³⁶ See section 4.4.1.

“The first GP of [client]... was not very nice. [client] was not leaving home. He was not going anywhere. And so... I dragged [client] to GP and said that ‘this person is not going out’. And... I did not know much about autism then. But I knew that [client] wasn’t normal and I was told off. GP said ‘[client] is perfectly happy not going out. How dare you say how he should be!’... and I was severely reprimanded by the GP... I managed to persuade [client] to change his GP. This [new] GP used to lead a local mental health team so I thought that he would be more understanding... He just said ‘[client] is just depressed. And all he needs to do is live a more positive life.’ And... he refused to refer him for a diagnosis. So... that’s where I was, before I met [CP3_ProfVol1]. [CP3_ProfVol1] was fairly sure that [client] was autistic. And [CP3_ProfVol1] also informed me that – because of the change in the law – he has legal right to be assessed.” (CP3_LP1)

“[I want autistic people] to have a normal life. To not have to fight and scream and shout for everything. ‘Cause, we have one lady who’s... she’s autistic, but she doesn’t understand forms and that. So, she loses her dole and things like that ‘cause she doesn’t understand [the forms]. If someone was just autistic aware, they would know if they were doing an interview with her... You know yourself. Autistic people will answer the question, as you say it. It’s like... if you tell someone to pull their socks up at work they will actually look down, bend down and pull their socks up. You can’t say something to them and think they’ll understand what you mean. But there’s no training. So, people don’t know that.” (CP3_Vol3)

CP3 demonstrates a commitment to promoting autism awareness, including rights awareness, and providing autism training. Both quotations also highlight the potential damage that professionals can inflict on autistic people if they have not had appropriate training, and the necessity of an organisation like CP3 to intervene in such cases. As a result, two related dominant practices - **rights – responsibilities** and **campaigning/activism – local government** – emerge that closely parallel the stable **disability awareness – lack of disability awareness** oppositional practice. With regards to the first excerpt, CP3_ProfVol1 did intervene to overturn the GP’s decision not to refer the client for a diagnosis test by using confrontational methods to stress the legal rights of the client, and involving the NHS Trust Commissioner. These methods were successful and the client was soon diagnosed as autistic (CP3_LP1).

The co-founder of CP3 (CP3_ProfVol1) discusses the incident that was the primary influence on her decision to start-up CP3 and use confrontational methods:

“So, I tried to get my son statemented. It took me five years to get the statement. And all the way through... I was told that he would never be statemented... and that he would never go to [a SEN school]. Because [LA Council] were going to close it. So, I started helping the school to fight the closure. Because the council had... sold land which didn't belong to them. Thought that nobody would kick up a fuss. But... obviously, the staff and the parents at [SEN school] all started to do their own detective work and... I think the council had to pay back quite a bit of money... to the land developers... because they promised them things that they obviously couldn't deliver. [SEN school] then became a Trust school.” (CP3_ProfVol1)

Similar to academic debate, CP3 challenges the Enterprise discourse's embedded **citizen responsibility – government responsibility** dominant practice by *privileging* rights-based work that uses campaigning and activism methods. This reproduces the **rights – responsibilities** oppositional practice of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse from academic debate into grassroots debate. Within the Enterprise discourse, the 'campaigning/activism' signifier is closely associated with the *privileged* 'social action' and 'community organising' signifiers. Therefore, only particular forms of campaigning and activism activity, i.e. the Community Organisers Programme or other social action projects, are legitimated under the Enterprise discourse; silencing alternative reproductions of this signifier. CP3's re-articulation of the 'campaigning/activism' signifier, associated with both the *privileged* 'disability awareness' and 'rights' signifiers, is an oppositional practice to the dominant practices of the Enterprise discourse. These oppositional practices develop further through participants discussing that they use these campaigning and activism methods particularly against local government and its associated institutions, i.e. the NHS and the Local Educational Authority (LEA). Despite this opposition to local government, these oppositional practices do not automatically *privilege* VCS services at the expense of public sector services. In fact, 'voluntary and community sector services' is a *floating signifier* within CP3:

“I've got concerns about the voluntary sector becoming more engaged with statutory work. A contact family said to me years ago 'parents of disabled children always fight for services... and they should never be 'grateful' as it is what they are entitled to'... We are moving towards voluntary sector organisations doing more statutory work but being less critical.” (CP3_Vol2)

“It's mostly the council that we fight. Because you make their LEA look bad all the time. So, that's probably the best thing we can do... to be

independent from the council. Because we'd have to fear that the council were going to take money off us if we were not being nice to them. This place [CP3] would be worthless. We'd have to give into the council all the time." (CP3_Vol3)

Both excerpts reverberate key criticisms raised in academic debate that both central and local government regard civil society organisations, including community groups, as a *sector* rather than a *movement*; and that the former struggles to function independently from both local and central government (Alcock, 2010a; Taylor, 2011a; Taylor, 2012; Bunyan, 2012; Powell, 2013a). The Enterprise discourse's *privileging* of the VCS / civil society sector is thus substantively critiqued by the Social Justice / Democracy discourse at both a national and grassroots level. As CP3 demonstrates, this critique emphasises the Enterprise discourse's utilisation of the VCS to replace cut public sector services, and the dilution of criticality within VCS organisations to independently challenge the policies and practices of local and central government.

An additional oppositional practice within CP3 that is core to the Social Justice / Democracy discourse is **professional competence – professional incompetence**; also used to critique local government and its associated institutions. Both CP3_LP1 and CP3_ProfVol1 discuss professional incompetence with regards to the GP who refused to refer CP3_LP1's client for diagnosis:

"The GP was... refusing to refer [client] to... specialist for diagnostic purposes. And I never understood the reason, but I do know it costs money to refer them. But, the GP told me that, medically, there is no cure for autism therefore, even if it is autism – and he doesn't believe in giving him labels – he did not see any point. And I tried to explain that... medically it may be so. But when it comes to access to social provisions... then it makes a lot of difference. But... that was not his concern. He said that, 'Well, no... social benefits are not based on diagnosis. It is based on what he can or cannot do.' On paper, he is right. But in reality, that is not the case." (CP3_LP1)

"And that's really why we set the group up... to go around and deliver autism awareness training... to frontline services. Especially social workers from the council... because of their total lack of understanding... they actively damage people's lives. And that's why... we got involved." (CP3_ProfVol1)

The professionals that are *marked* as incompetent are employed on behalf of, or in partnership with, local government, i.e. social services, the NHS and the LEA. Resultantly, within the Social Justice / Democracy discourse the 'professional

incompetence' signifier is additionally *marked* due to its associations with the *marked* 'local government' signifier. These developments *mark* community development and related community-based practices associated with local government and, to a lesser extent, the VCS which re-iterates academic debate (Bunyan, 2012; Taylor, 2012). In CP3, the 'professional incompetence' signifier is strongly associated with the *marked* 'lack of disability awareness' signifier. Therefore, community development practices associated with the *privileged* 'disability awareness' and 'campaigning/activism' signifiers are potentially available and *privileged* within CP3 and the Social Justice / Democracy discourse. This is discussed further in section 6.4.1 with regards to the **political activity – professional activity** oppositional practice crucial to the formation of subject positions for professionals and volunteers to adopt in community development processes.

Volunteering also reproduces problematically in CP3. Like community development, volunteering is endorsed when associated with the *privileged* 'disability awareness' and 'campaigning/activism' signifiers, and relationally positioned against the *marked* 'professional incompetence' signifier. Overall, volunteering is *marked* within this project as the participants relationally *privilege* the 'paid work' signifier:

"Professional credibility is important. It is important to have people who... know what they are doing and can commit time so that nothing is... left undone. I sometimes struggle with the altruistic way of looking at [volunteering] where 'it's good to give'. But I also believe that people deserve to be... recognised as well. And sometimes that recognition needs to be... financial. And it also brings credibility and... stability. But I also think that it is really good that we offer opportunities to volunteer. Because that opens up possibilities for people that might not... have thought possible." (CP3_VolLP1)

"We need teeth. If it's just volunteers... it's nice, but... we have people already under duress and stressed out. I mean, when [CP3_ProfVol1] was here, she was actually quite active... and intervened in many cases... where there was an... identified need. I mean, [co-founder] still does that. She's in a position to do something. So, it's not just social because [co-founder] is there. People, overall, need more than that." (CP3_LP1)

In a similar fashion to academic debate (cf. Dean, 2013), the Social Justice / Democracy discourse within CP3 critiques and de-stabilises the Enterprise

discourse's **volunteering – paid work** dominant practice by *privileging* the 'paid work' signifier. Under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, community development workers deserve professional recognition and should be remunerated accordingly¹³⁷. Volunteers reproduce as an essential part of community development processes but should not replace paid community development workers. These excerpts also reproduce the **being overburdened – being empowered** oppositional practice used to critique the Enterprise discourse (Council, 2012a; CP3_VolLP1; CP3_ProfVol1). Again, CP3_ProfVol1's own experience of volunteer burnout due to volunteering full-time for three years to keep CP3 afloat re-iterates the unsustainability of the Enterprise discourse that the Social Justice / Democracy discourse fights against:

"If I thought about it, too long... I would probably shut [CP3] down tomorrow. Because I would be terrified. My name is on everything... I'm legally responsible for everything. Twelve months contract for phone and IT... and buildings and... and it's not a small amount of money that you're talking about. And I'm legally responsible for all of that. I just tend to try and not look at the bank balance too much. And I just keep hoping that... something will happen... something will improve... you know? And, em... that's how we get through, to be honest... I cross my fingers and close my eyes. Just... hope for the best." (CP3_ProfVol1)

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter ascertains that four discourses of community development reproduced within this case study local authority district in England, i.e. the Enterprise, Transformation, Partnership and Social Justice / Democracy discourses. The Enterprise discourse remains dominant, with austerity influencing local policy and grassroots practices to use localism legislation, especially community asset transfers, to endorse social enterprises. Despite these advancements, both local policy and grassroots debate reiterate key critiques against the Enterprise discourse raised by academic debate, i.e. the extent of the public sector cuts and overreliance on volunteers. Nevertheless, the hegemony of the Enterprise discourse was conceded to in this local authority through the

¹³⁷ This is discussed in more detail in section 6.4.1.

enactment of the Enterprise discourse's dominant practices, i.e. each community development project moving towards a self-funding social enterprise structure; and claims that community development was being phased-out of this local authority by neighbourhood management, social enterprise, community asset transfers and volunteering. As a result, the Enterprise discourse was fully articulated, legitimated and enacted in this local authority.

The marginal Transformation discourse struggled to re-articulate within this local authority. In local policy texts there was no trace of this discourse. Instead, the Partnership discourse previously dominant under the New Labour administration was also promoted in the 2010 texts authored by this local authority council. Deeper analysis suggests that the Partnership discourse was not available to enact as elements of it were incorporated into the Enterprise discourse, i.e. the focus on assets from asset-based community development but without any references to community development; and other elements 'othered' as evidenced in grassroots debate where council-run youth and community development projects were reported as the first to close down due to the cuts, with their premises 'sold' to neighbouring VCS organisations under community asset transfers; resulting in losses to existing community development infrastructure (CP1_Prof1; CP1_Vol2; CP3_ProfVol1; CP3_Vol3). Still, the second binary cluster of the Transformation discourse developed within grassroots debate and was reproduced, legitimated and enacted within all three community development projects, especially CP1 and CP2. This re-articulation of the Transformation discourse establishes a grassroots commitment towards the development of a good neighbourhood, community spirit and, especially, personal transformation. This is considerably different from the Transformation discourse articulated in national debate; highlighting there are two Transformation discourses – one at a national level (National Transformation discourse) and one within the case study local authority (Local Transformation discourse). Operating under the Local Transformation discourse, both CP1 and CP2 reveal a problematic **insider – outsider** oppositional practice where community development can promote exclusionary practices where dominant groups transmit their values and social practices on to more subordinate groups. But, some CP2 participants were aware of such 'othering' processes and used community development values and methods to tactfully break them down.

Finally, the findings establish that the Social Justice / Democracy discourse was unavailable within local policy debate but available, with some variations, in CP3. The *equality, rights and social justice* binary cluster of this discourse reproduces and develops within CP3. CP3 *privileges* community development processes that use rights-based campaigning and activist methods to challenge the professional incompetence of local government, and their associated institutions, concerning autism awareness and rights. The second binary cluster - *a radical and democratic civil society movement* – was not reproduced within either local policy or grassroots debate; illustrating that this discourse could not challenge the hegemony of the Enterprise discourse. Nonetheless, there is potential for CP3 to connect to a wider civil society movement to further embed the dominance of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse within this community development project, and preserve the marginal status of both the Enterprise and Local Transformation discourses. This thesis now turns to the subject positions available within each of the four *available* discourses; and the implications that these subject positions have for community development processes.

Chapter 6 – Available subject positions for key social actors

6.1 Introduction

Chapters four and five addressed the first two research questions of this investigation: (i) what competing discourses of community development were available in England between 2010 and 2015?; and (ii) which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced? This chapter now utilises the final stage of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA) to answer the third, and final, research question: (iii) what subject positions were available within each discourse for professionals, volunteers and local people to adopt within community development processes?

Sections 6.2 to 6.5 outline the spectrum of subject positions available for key social actors to adopt under each of the available community development discourses. Section 6.2 focusses on the dominant Enterprise discourse; section 6.3 on the marginal National Transformation discourse; section 6.4 the marginal Local Transformation discourse; and then section 6.5 moves on to the silenced but oppositional Social Justice / Democracy discourse. Section 6.6 then concludes this chapter by summarising the main findings and their implications for community development processes in the timeframe under study.

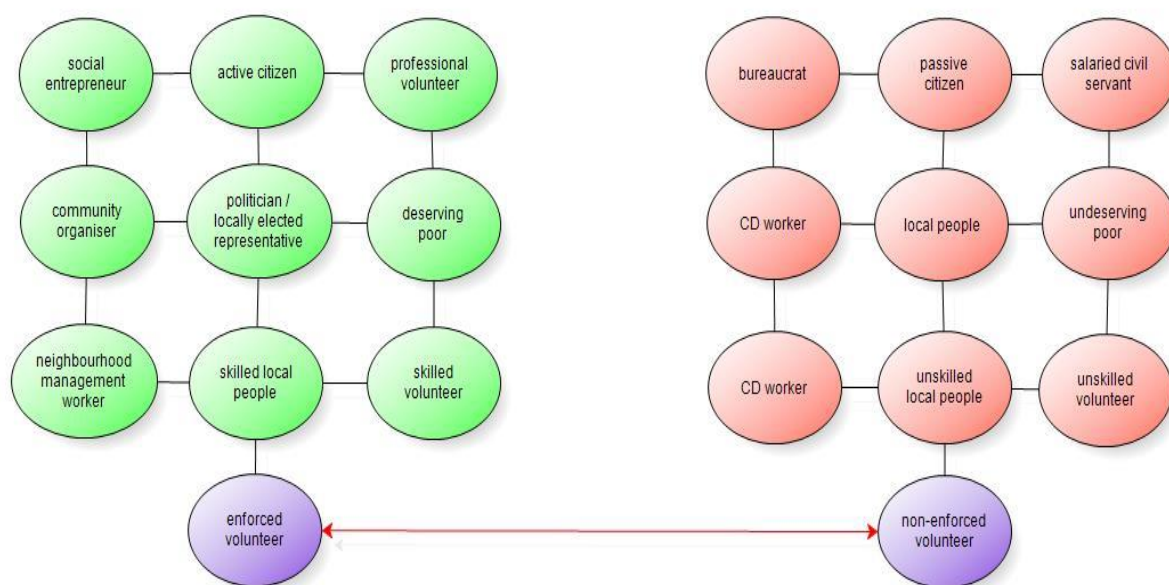
6.2 The Enterprise discourse

6.2.1 Available subject positions

The Enterprise discourse generates a total of fifteen partial subject positions, rooted in ten binary pairs, that associate with this discourse's dominant practices.

Figure 6.1 illustrates these partial subject positions¹³⁸, which are taken from the identity web of binaries for the Enterprise discourse included as Appendix G.

Figure 6.1 Partial subject positions of the Enterprise discourse



As stated in section 3.3.1.4, Hansen (2006) advises against using solely binary-based constructions of identity as these are not fully constituted subject positions and need to be appropriately ‘fleshed out’ to achieve such status. Applying the fifth stage of PDA, each partial subject position is ‘fleshed out’ using Hansen’s three-pronged approach which charts their spatial, temporal and ethical identity constructions. Spatial constructions of identity involve the construction of frontiers and boundaries that are predominantly physical but can also be abstract (Hansen, 2006). These spatial constructions underline which subject positions are included in, or excluded from, *privileged* or *marked* spaces within a discourse. For example, the Enterprise discourse’s spatial identity constructions available to all partial subject positions involve participation in, non-participation in and exclusion from the Coalition’s ‘Big Society’. Temporal constructions of identity are underpinned by constructions of change, development or continuity whereby subject positions are constituted as capable or incapable of embracing change, development and

¹³⁸ There are twenty potential partial subject positions reproduced under this discourse. However, the ‘community development worker’ signifier reproduces twice, active citizens and passive citizens articulate as master subject positions, and there is significant overlap between the ‘salaried civil servant’ signifier and the ‘bureaucrat’ thus both are combined as the ‘bureaucrat’ partial subject position.

transformation (ibid). To illustrate, the temporal constructions of identity available to all partial subject positions under the Enterprise discourse concern if the subject positions available are capable of change and if their attitude towards change and development can promote the transformation and development of other available subject positions. Finally, ethical constructions of identity focus on how much discursive and political power each subject position contains and whether each subject position adopts or rejects moral responsibilities towards other subject positions (ibid). For example, the Enterprise discourse's ethical constructions of identity revolve around how 'empowered' subject positions are and whether they can 'empower' or 'disempower' other subject positions available within this discourse.

There are four master subject positions reproduced within the Enterprise discourse. A master subject position is a repeated combination of a particular spatial, temporal and ethical identity construction used by a discourse to 'flesh out' one or more partial subject positions. This means that different subject positions under the Enterprise discourse may have the same spatial, temporal and ethical identity constructions. The master subject positions of the Enterprise discourse are presented in *table 6.1*:

Table 6.1 *Master subject positions available under the Enterprise discourse*

| Master subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Entrepreneurial Self | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to the 'Big Society' | Transformer / enforces change | 'Empowering' |
| Active citizen | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in the 'Big Society' | Transformed / embraces change | 'Empowered' |
| Passive citizen | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in the 'Big Society' | Can transform / potential for change | 'Disempowered' |
| Bureaucrat 'Other' | <i>Radically 'othered'</i> | Excluded from the 'Big Society' | Must transform / reluctant to change | 'Disempowering' |

All four master subject positions emerge from two binaries presented in *figure 6.1*: **active citizen – passive citizen** and **social entrepreneur – bureaucrat**. The **active citizen – passive citizen** binary is the most prevalent and highlights considerable overlap between the subject positions articulated from the *empty signifiers* of ‘professional’, ‘volunteer’ and ‘local people’. Therefore, a number of professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development or related processes in ‘Big Society’ articulate as variants of active or passive citizens:

“We’ve got to get rid of the centralised bureaucracy that wastes money and undermines morale. And in its place we’ve got to give *professionals* much more freedom, and open up public services to new providers like charities, social enterprises and private companies so we get more innovation, diversity and responsiveness to public need.” (Cameron, 2010, np; *emphasis added*)

“*Engaged workers and citizens* also make public services cheaper. *Empowered staff* are better at cutting costs and correcting failure than those managed by command-and-control methods - as has been proved in the private sector, in businesses such as John Lewis.” (Blond, 2010b, p.240; *emphasis added*)

“The growth of *volunteering* policy acknowledges the great potential of young people to get involved in their communities and attempt to allay some social problems, as “*active citizens*” who *volunteer* have become the basis for community regeneration.” (Dean, 2013, p.50; *emphasis added*)

“... centralisation of power has *made people passive when they should be active* and cynical when they should be idealistic. This attitude only makes things worse... and the more they opt out from society.” (Woodhouse, 2013, p.2; *emphasis added*)

All excerpts echo findings throughout chapter four where the New Labour ‘Other’ was consistently blamed for ‘broken’ Britain by disempowering both public sector and voluntary and community sector (VCS) workers through bureaucracy, inefficiency and interfering, top-down government agendas (“centralised bureaucracy”, “wastes money”, “command-and-control”, “centralisation of power”); and local people into “... passive recipients of state help with little hope for the future” (Cameron, 2010, np). Cameron (2010) and Dean (2013) promote that variants of an active citizen subject position – either as a professional or a

volunteer – are *privileged* within the Enterprise discourse to foster community regeneration and innovation. Woodhouse (2013) focusses on the passive citizen who has been ‘disempowered’ by the New Labour ‘Other’. All four passages demonstrate that *active* professionals, volunteers and local people are more *privileged* than their *passive* counterparts, and they ‘flesh out’ through the active citizen master subject position as ethically ‘empowered’ and temporally transformed through their spatial participation in ‘Big Society’. In comparison, the passive citizen master subject position is ethically ‘disempowered’ due to not spatially participating in ‘Big Society’ and is *marked* accordingly. Yet, this master subject position reproduces as temporally capable of change and can therefore be ‘empowered’ and developed by participating in ‘Big Society’.

The bureaucrat ‘Other’ master subject position reproduces as a direct descendant of the New Labour radical ‘Other’ and, therefore, is spatially excluded from ‘Big Society’ as a figure who is temporally reluctant to change (Cabinet Office, 2010f; 2010g), and ethically ‘disempowers’ local people as passive citizens (Cameron, 2010; Woodhouse, 2013). In contrast, the entrepreneurial Self master subject position contains considerable political and discursive power as an ethically ‘empowering’ figure who can transform passive citizens into active citizens within ‘Big Society’ (Alcock, 2010a; Cabinet Office, 2011c; 2013b).

Table 6.2 presents a list of subject positions that community development professionals can adopt under the Enterprise discourse:

Table 6.2 Professional subject positions available under the Enterprise discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Social entrepreneur | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to ‘Big Society’ | Transformer / enforces change | ‘Empowering’ |
| Community organiser | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in ‘Big Society’ | Transformed / embraces change | ‘Empowered’ |
| Neighbourhood management worker | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in ‘Big Society’ | Transformed / embraces change | ‘Empowered’ |
| Locally elected representative | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in ‘Big Society’ | Transformed / embraces change | ‘Empowered’ |

| Community development worker | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in 'Big Society' | Can transform / potential for change | 'Disempowered' |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| New Labour bureaucrat | <i>Most marked / radically 'othered'</i> | Radically 'othered' from 'Big Society' | Must transform / reluctant to change | 'Disempowering' |

From this table, the New Labour bureaucrat has been 'fleshed' out by the bureaucrat 'Other' master subject position as they share spatial, temporal and ethical identity constructions. Community development professionals who adopt this subject position are the most *marked* under the Enterprise discourse as they are held responsible for the state of 'broken' Britain in 2010, and their presence threatens to make Britain 'broken' once again (Cameron, 2010; Woodhouse, 2013). Therefore, the community development professional / New Labour bureaucrat *must* transform / change into a more *privileged* subject position or lose their job under public sector reform and austerity:

"We will improve the civil service, and make it easier to reward the best civil servants and remove the least effective" (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.27).

"So this is what radicalism means. No more top-down, bureaucrat-driven public services. We are putting those services in your hands. The old targets and performance indicators that drove the doctors, nurses and police officers mad – they're gone. All that bureaucracy that meant nothing ever happened – we are stripping it away." (Cameron, 2010; cited in Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.7)

The social entrepreneur is the most *privileged* professional subject position available under the Enterprise discourse and has been 'fleshed out' by the entrepreneur Self master subject position. The social entrepreneur articulates as spatially fundamental to the cohesion of 'Big Society' due to its ability to temporally transform passive citizens into active citizens and ethically 'empower' them in the process. Community development professionals are consistently nudged to adopt this subject position as the social entrepreneur is presented as the antithesis of the New Labour bureaucrat; especially due to their ability to generate funding not sourced from central and local government (Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010c; 2013b; Council, 2012a; 2012d; CP1_Vol2; CP2_Prof2; CP3_Vol2). The social entrepreneur subject position is widely available within the Enterprise discourse:

"Britain is blessed with brilliant social entrepreneurs who are developing new ways of mobilising people." (Cabinet Office, 2013b, p.5)

“For public service staff – Our plans will tear up the rule book that stops public sector staff doing the job as they see fit. We will restore professional responsibility and discretion; offer public service staff new opportunities to innovate, improve and inspire; and encourage public sector staff to start their own enterprise.” (Cabinet Office, 2011c, p.13)

“... in a later report by Singh (2010) entitled *The venture society*, which explains how local ‘social labs’ and ‘tablets’ could provide support for the creation and development of grassroots entrepreneurship, citing the success of organisations like UnLtd, a charity that supports social entrepreneurs.” (Alcock, 2010a, p.384)

From these extracts, social entrepreneurs reproduce as ‘empowering’ (“developing new ways of mobilising people”), innovative (“innovate, improve and inspire”) and successful (“citing the success”); and are *privileged* accordingly. Community organisers, and to a lesser extent, neighbourhood management workers and politicians / locally elected representatives, also reproduce as *privileged* and available subject positions for community development professionals to adopt:

“Through our Community Organisers programme, we have supported communities to come together – often for the first time – and to take action on the issues that matter to them. So far, nearly 2,000 Organisers have been trained to listen to residents and encourage them to take a more active part in their community.” (Cabinet Office, 2013b, p.35)

“Neighbourhood management is central to strengthening communities. It is part of a long-term plan in [LA Council] to ensure local services are co-ordinated around the needs of individual neighbourhoods and are accountable to local people.” (Council, 2012b, p.12)

“While individuals will be given greater choice and the responsibility that comes with exercising it, this shift in power to individuals does not mean that they are on their own. Both elected and unelected consumer and citizen champions will need to take a prominent role in pushing for increased quality and greater choice. For example, democratically-elected representatives will hold providers to account through the process of local overview and scrutiny, and increasingly will commission services from a wide range of providers to ensure that the voters have the choice they want.” (Cabinet Office, 2011c, p.15)

These excerpts establish that community organisers, neighbourhood management workers and the politician / locally elected representatives are bestowed agency to facilitate the transformation of passive citizens into active citizens (“encourage”,

“strengthening”, “champions”, “pushing”). Yet, these professional subject positions are vulnerable to attack as their salaries are paid by central and local government; potentially associating them with the *marked* signifiers of the New Labour ‘Other’, such as: ‘paid work’, ‘public sector services’, ‘state action’ and ‘government’¹³⁹. Community organisers can escape such ‘othering’ processes by transforming into social entrepreneurs who generate funding to pay their own salaries (Alcock, 2010a; Cabinet Office, 2012a; 2013b). Once again, the social entrepreneur is the most *privileged* subject position available for professionals to adopt under the Enterprise discourse. Community organisers, neighbourhood management workers and politicians / locally elected representatives are subsequently ‘fleshed out’ by the master subject position of the active citizen – *privileging* them as: spatially participating in ‘Big Society’; temporally as transformed and embracing change; and ethically as ‘empowered’. Thus, the *privileged* subject positions available to community development professionals under the Enterprise discourse are: social entrepreneur, community organiser, neighbourhood management worker and politician / locally elected representative.

Community development professionals can also adopt the *marked* subject position of the community development worker not participating in ‘Big Society’ thus ethically ‘disempowered’. Yet, this *marked* community development worker is temporally capable of change and can therefore into a more *privileged* subject position, i.e. social entrepreneur, community organiser and neighbourhood management worker. Resultantly, professionals involved in community development processes are nudged under the Enterprise discourse to adopt the *privileged* professional subject positions of the social entrepreneur, community organiser and neighbourhood management worker. Community development professionals who do not adopt these *privileged* professional subject positions risk expulsion.

There is considerable overlap between the subject positions that volunteers and local people can adopt within community development processes under the Enterprise discourse. The five ‘fleshed out’ volunteer subject positions available are presented in *table 6.3*:

¹³⁹ See Appendix G for an illustration of this.

Table 6.3 Volunteer subject positions available under the Enterprise discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Professional volunteer | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to 'Big Society' | Transformer / enforces change | 'Empowering' |
| Skilled volunteer | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in 'Big Society' | Transformed / embraces change | 'Empowered' |
| Enforced volunteer | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in 'Big Society' | Transformed / embraces change | 'Empowered' |
| Unskilled volunteer | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in 'Big Society' | Can transform / potential for change | 'Disempowered' |
| Non-enforced volunteer | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in 'Big Society' | Can transform / potential for change | 'Disempowered' |

All volunteer subject positions reproduce as *formally* giving their time to 'Big Society' and its civil society organisations:

"We will use the Social Action Fund to support new models that incentivise people to give, such as 'complementary currencies' that offer people credit for volunteering." (Cabinet Office, 2011a, p.18)

"[This policy will] enable everyone to make a *recognised* contribution to their community and [LA district] to become the volunteering capital of the UK." (Council, 2010a, p.15, *emphasis added*)

"With a responsabilized youth, theoretically the power of the state is increased as the possibility of a threat to authority from young people within is reduced, and the work of the state is taken up by conscientious empowered volunteers." (Dean, 2013, p.59)

Cabinet Office (2011a) establishes that the 'social action' and 'volunteering' signifiers have become increasingly intertwined; thereby delineating volunteers as those visibly undertaking official and accredited social action within civil society organisations / structures. In Council (2010a), this accreditation theme develops within local policy debate where, to be regarded as a local volunteer, each volunteer must be undertaking 'recognised' [by the local authority council] social action. Dean (2013) develops these findings to connect the 'volunteering', 'volunteer' and 'social action' signifiers to the 'citizen responsibility' and 'neoliberal hegemony' signifiers where volunteers are undertaking state-recognised and

authorised "... uncontroversial behaviours... with voluntary projects, charities, or social enterprises" (p.46). Once again, civil society constitutes as an arena for neoliberal governance where social action and volunteering practices cultivate the responsible, active and entrepreneurial citizens needed to make 'Big Society' flourish.

Both professional and skilled volunteers articulate as the most *privileged* subject positions available for both volunteers and local people to adopt in community development processes under the Enterprise discourse:

"Each local community group within the selected areas will recruit at least one Active at 60 Community Agent, who will volunteer their time to help motivate, encourage and organise people within their own communities to become more active – physically, socially and mentally." (Cabinet Office, 2011a, p.12)

"Encouraging better connections between small organisations and skilled volunteers or mentors from business or larger charities." (Cabinet Office, 2010f, p.8)

"Use the Social Action Fund to support proposals for training voluntary volunteer managers including ex-civil servants." (Cabinet Office, 2011a, p.7)

Both Cabinet Office (2011a) excerpts establish that the professional volunteer subject position embodies considerable agency ("help motivate, encourage and organise people") and the entrepreneur Self master subject position is used to 'flesh out' this subject position. Like social entrepreneurs, professional volunteers are spatially crucial to 'Big Society', ethically an 'empowering' figure and temporally a transformer who enforces change on those reluctant to transform. Ex-salaried civil servants¹⁴⁰, ex-charity workers and ex-professionals with business mentoring experience – who are committed to participating in and developing 'Big Society' - are nudged to adopt this *privileged* volunteer subject position to work voluntarily in 'Big Society'. Skilled volunteers are 'empowered' and *privileged* as they articulate through the active citizen master subject position, with unskilled volunteers 'fleshed out' through the *marked* passive citizen master subject position, which *table 6.2* demonstrates.

¹⁴⁰ Including New Labour bureaucrats who can be forced to transform / change.

Similar to the availability of professional subject positions under the Enterprise discourse, volunteers adopting the unskilled volunteer subject position are nudged to transform into the more active, ‘empowered’ and *privileged* subject position of the skilled volunteer. This is with the support of the social entrepreneur and/or the professional volunteer, and the exclusion of the New Labour bureaucrat (Alcock, 2010a; Cameron, 2010; Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2011a; Council 2013; CP2_Prof2). The articulation of enforced and non-enforced volunteer subject positions is more complicated as these subject positions are only debated in oppositional texts (Dean, 2013; CP1_Vol1; CP1_Vol2; CP1_Prof1; CP3_Vol3). In part, this is due to the official policy papers concerning enforced volunteering being released by the Department of Work and Pensions and its *Work Programme (Workfare)* rather than the Department for Communities and Local Government. As section 5.2.1.2 outlined, these oppositional texts suggest that the Enterprise discourse *privileges* those who participate in the *Workfare* programme and *marks* those who do not. *Table 6.2* illustrates that the non-enforced volunteer is *marked* but not ‘othered’ due to its potential to transform temporally into the more *ethically* ‘empowered’ and *privileged* enforced volunteer who spatially participates in ‘Big Society’. The *marked* non-enforced volunteer subject position also overlaps with the subject positions available to local people under the Enterprise discourse. *Table 6.4* lists the subject positions available to local people:

Table 6.4 Local person subject positions available under the Enterprise discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|---|--|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Skilled local person / volunteer | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in ‘Big Society’ | Transformed / embraces change | ‘Empowered’ |
| Deserving poor | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in ‘Big Society’ | Can transform / potential for change | ‘Disempowered’ |
| Unskilled local people | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in ‘Big Society’ | Can transform / potential for change | ‘Disempowered’ |
| Undeserving poor | <i>Most marked / radically ‘othered’</i> | Radically ‘othered’ from ‘Big Society’ | Must transform / reluctant to change | ‘Disempowering’ |

There is significant overlap between the non-enforced volunteer subject position and the *marked* subject positions available to local people from *table 6.4*:

“For instance, volunteering can play an important role in helping *unemployed people* keep in touch with the labour market and *gain confidence, skills, and experience* which can help them in their search for work.” (Cabinet Office, 2010e, p.12; *emphasis added*)

“Our own vision is a society in which power and responsibility have shifted: one in which, at every level in our national life, individuals and communities have more aspiration, power and capacity to take decisions and solve problems themselves, and *where all of us take greater responsibility for ourselves, our communities and one another*. We are clear, however, that this vision should not be equated with reducing the size of the state, or lead to the state abdicating its responsibilities, *particularly with regard to the most vulnerable*.” (Woodhouse, 2013, p.7; *emphasis added*)

“We also recognise that some individuals will find it more difficult to participate simply because there is currently less organised social action within their neighbourhoods than in others. *We want to ensure that those who live in less active communities receive the support they need to galvanise social action*.” (Cabinet Office, 2010e, p.10; *emphasis added*)

From these excerpts, the non-enforced volunteer articulates as a local person who is not engaging in social action / volunteering projects in, preferably, their local neighbourhood to enhance their employability skills to then obtain paid work. A **deserving poor – undeserving poor** binary intertwines with the **enforced volunteer – non-enforced volunteer** binary¹⁴¹ where the non-enforced volunteer subject position can re-articulate through connecting to either the ‘deserving poor’ (“live in less active communities”, “the most vulnerable”) or ‘undeserving poor’ signifiers:

“We will support would-be entrepreneurs through a new programme – Work for Yourself – which will give the unemployed access to business mentors and start-up loans.” (Cabinet Office, 2010d, p.23)

“But too many of our young people appear lost. Their lives lack shape or any sense of direction. So they take out their frustrations and boredom on the world around them. They get involved with gangs. They

¹⁴¹ See figure 6.1.

smash up the neighbourhood. They turn to drink and drugs. We want to offer them an alternative. So that is what National Citizen Service is all about. It is a two month programme for sixteen year-olds to come together in common purpose. (Conservative Party, 2010, pp. 1–2; cited in Dean, 2013, p.50)

The first excerpt delineates the deserving poor who can become more active through social enterprise and social action, potentially to adopt the more *privileged* subject positions of the social entrepreneur and the professional volunteer. The second excerpt embodies the undeserving poor who are deviant and/or criminal but can be nudged to adopt the more *privileged* subject positions of the enforced or skilled volunteer. Under the Enterprise discourse, the deserving and undeserving poor reproduce as ‘disempowered’ by New Labour bureaucrats and both must be nudged to transform into a more *privileged*, and preferably volunteer (“National Citizen Service”), subject position. The *privileged* social entrepreneur, politician / locally elected representative, community organiser, neighbourhood management worker and / or the professional volunteer must enforce this change or non-enforced volunteers, the deserving and the undeserving poor risk radical ‘othering’ and exclusion from ‘Big Society’.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that, under the Enterprise discourse, the more *privileged* subject positions available to local people are in fact volunteer positions, i.e. the skilled volunteer and the enforced volunteer. Two additional binaries offer further subject positions for local people to adopt: **politician / locally elected representative – local people** and **skilled local people – unskilled local people**. Politicians and locally elected representatives are *privileged* under the Enterprise discourse as they consistently ‘flesh out’ the active citizen master subject position. Resultantly, local people are relationally positioned as passive citizens who need intervention from ‘empowering’ social entrepreneurs and/or professional volunteers to transform into active citizens who have a range of ethically ‘empowered’ subject positions available to them, such as: locally elected representative, professional volunteer, skilled volunteer and enforced volunteer:

“Local people, therefore, need a clear signal from central government that things are changing; and those with the power to help or hinder them need an equally clear signal that change is to be accommodated.” (Cabinet Office, 2010c, p.7).

The subject position of the skilled local person is also drawn as a *privileged* and *ethically* 'empowered' subject position available. However, there remains significant overlap with the 'volunteer' *empty signifier*.

"Government will also support local causes by encouraging local people and businesses to offer their skills and time to support small scale local charities, voluntary organisations and community groups." (Cabinet Office, 2010a, p.10)

"Effectively engaging young people and developing their confidence, knowledge and skills for them to become involved in decision making processes and more active within the community." (Council, 2012b, p.27)

"Yeah... and then the childcare course came in and I've gone on that. They had the children upstairs and I got involved in all the activities that the kids has done. I've gone on the trips with them. I've been on the school holidays with them. I've done the lunches where [CP2_Prof1] and the rest of us have organised the things with the kiddies. I've stood in the back yard when they've been having the fairs and things like that. And, we've done all kinds of things like that." (CP2_Vol/LP2)

In all excerpts there is an expectation that skilled local people will adopt the skilled volunteer subject position to participate in 'Big Society' through unpaid social action. Hence, unskilled local people reproduce as either: (i) passive citizens who need support from social entrepreneurs and professional volunteers to transform into skilled volunteers; or (ii) the 'disempowering' and 'undeserving' poor who have no desire to change and must be enforced to do so through the intervention of, again, the social entrepreneur and / or the professional volunteer. Social entrepreneurs and professional volunteers are clearly the *most privileged* positions available within the Enterprise discourse at the expense of New Labour bureaucrats (including community development workers who adopt this subject position) and 'disempowering' local people who are reluctant to change and participate in the Coalition government's almost-mandatory volunteering and responsibility focussed social action:

"It is this sense of responsibility which brings people to act in positive ways – to improve their local areas and the lives of local people through volunteering, and to participate in their local community." (Cabinet Office, 2012a, p.20)

“With others, Rose argues that the rationale behind community (and citizen) engagement has been to create ‘responsible citizens’ who can take on the responsibilities previously held by the state. This leaves the most disadvantaged communities managing their own exclusion and open to blame if they fail (Atkinson, 2003b; Taylor, 2007).” (Taylor, 2012, p.21)

“This paradox between both romanticizing and problematizing community – between, on the one hand, the virtuous and those held up as the bedrock of the ‘Big Society’, i.e. volunteers, the deserving poor, social entrepreneurs, decent and hard-working families, and, on the other hand, the needy and problematic, i.e. welfare cheats, immigrants, ‘youth’, the undeserving poor, etc. – presents a simplistic picture about the nature of poor communities and the potential for people within them to engage in and effect social change.” (Bunyan, 2012, p.123)

This chapter moves on to outline the spectrum of subject positions available for key social actors to adopt within the National Transformation discourse.

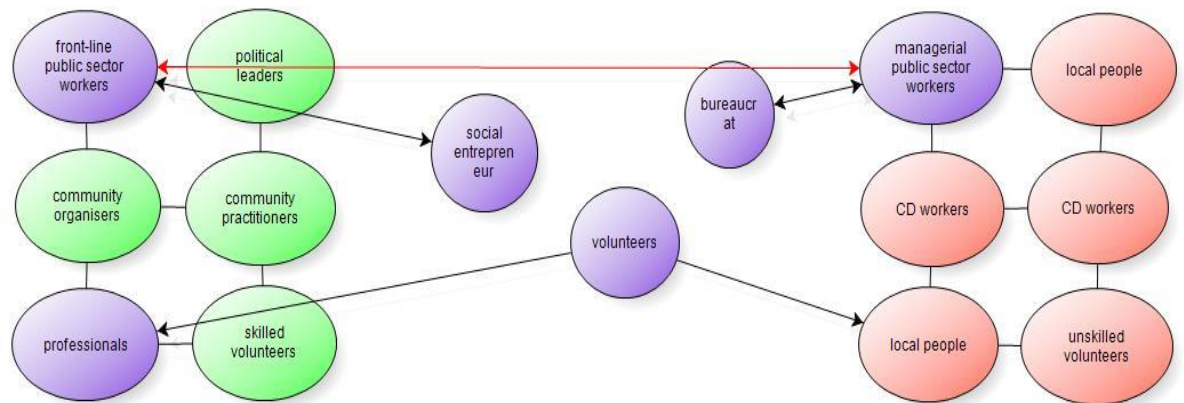
6.3 The National Transformation discourse

6.3.1 Available subject positions

Figure 6.2 is taken from the identity web of binaries for the National Transformation discourse included as Appendix I. This figure illustrates that the National Transformation discourse yields thirteen partial subject positions¹⁴² involved in community development processes.

¹⁴² Both ‘community development worker’ and ‘local people’ reproduce twice.

Figure 6.2 Partial subject positions of the National Transformation discourse



The front-line public sector workers – managerial public sector workers

binary is pivotal for the articulation of subject positions available for community development professionals to adopt under the National Transformation discourse:

“The first powerful force that we must harness to transform our public services is the energy and motivation of front-line staff. Their disengagement is not just a human resource issue: it is a fundamental bar to real improvement. When important decisions are made based on front-line expertise, public services can draw on an often neglected source of knowledge. Front-line staff frequently confront problems or become aware of opportunities long before strategic managers.” (Blond, 2010b, p.254)

“Many people who become community practitioners do so because they are motivated by experience of living or working in disadvantaged communities... So they may start as voluntary activists but later become paid professionals. In this sense community work can be seen as a social movement rather than a job. From this perspective voluntary motivation is more important than professional remit.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013b, p.40)

“Parsons (1995) describes how the rational, positivist approach which is in the ascendant today has put power into the hands of the professionals, experts, technocrats and bureaucrats who are doing the measurements and evaluations that now underpin policy implementation... Healey (2006) explains that... the logic of efficient and effective production quickly gets replaced by a 'politics of meeting targets'.” (Taylor, 2011c, p.142)

All three excerpts establish a commitment towards *privileging* front-line workers in relation to managerial workers. In Blond (2010b), front-line public sector workers articulate as *ethically* ‘disempowered’, and disengaged, due to the interference of their managerial and bureaucratic peers. This articulation develops with Chanan & Miller (2013b) and Taylor (2011c) where ‘effective’ community practitioners reproduce as dedicated to both front-line work and voluntary motivations rather than technocratic evaluations and “meeting targets”. Thus, the managerial public sector worker is a *marked* subject position within these extracts.

The Blue Labour authors (Miliband, 2011; Glasman *et al.*, 2011a; Glasman, 2011) develop this *marked* subject position by re-articulating it as a social democratic bureaucrat and thus the radical ‘Other’ of the National Transformation discourse. These authors criticise the ‘technocratic’ social democracy enacted by successive Labour governments from Attlee to Brown (1945-2010) and *mark* social democratic bureaucrats as responsible for the state of ‘broken’ Britain in early 2010¹⁴³. Again, the National Transformation discourse parallels the Enterprise discourse and reinstates the National Transformation discourse’s problems in fully differentiating itself from the dominant practices espoused by the Enterprise discourse, i.e. without a distinct radical ‘Other’ it is difficult to for the National Transformation discourse to relationally constitute an individual Self.

The application of the fifth stage of PDA establishes that the spatial, temporal and ethical constructions of subject positions available under the National Transformation discourse are, in fact, distinct to those reproduced under the Enterprise discourse. There are four interconnected and *privileged* spatial locations within the National Transformation discourse: (i) public sector (reform), (ii) coproduction (relations), (iii) political transformation and (iv) neighbourhood transformation. Spatial constructions available tie to participation, non-participation and exclusion in / from these spatial locations. Temporal constructions focus on the capacity for change, transformation and development each subject position has within at least one of these four *privileged* spatial locations. Finally, ethical constructions concern how ‘empowered’ subject positions are and whether they can ‘empower’ or ‘disempower’ other subject positions available within this discourse. *Table 6.5* presents the spectrum of available spatial, temporal and

¹⁴³ This is outlined in section 4.3.1.

ethical identities used to ‘flesh out’ the thirteen partial subject positions of the National Transformation discourse:

Table 6.5 Spatial, temporal and ethical identities under the National Transformation discourse

| Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|---|--|-----------------|
| Crucial to neighbourhood and/or political transformation | Transformative / enables coproduction | ‘Empowering’ |
| Crucial to public sector reform | Transformer / cultivates critical consciousness | ‘Empowered’ |
| Participating in coproduction | Embraces coproduction | ‘Disempowered’ |
| Participating in public sector reform | Embraces public sector reform | ‘Disempowering’ |
| Not participating in coproduction | Wants to coproduce services | _____ |
| Not participating in public sector reform | Wants change / transformation | _____ |
| Radically ‘othered’ from the public sector | Reluctant to change / rejects public sector reform | _____ |

There are nine fully ‘fleshed out’ subject positions available for community development professionals to adopt within the National Transformation discourse using the spatial, temporal and ethical constructions available in *table 6.5*. These subject positions are illustrated in *table 6.6*:

Table 6.6 Professional subject positions available under the National Transformation discourse

| Subject positions | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|--|--|--|--|-----------------|
| Social entrepreneur | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to public sector reform | Transformative / enables coproduction | 'Empowering' |
| Political leaders | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to public sector reform | Transformative / enables coproduction | 'Empowering' |
| Community practitioner (managerial / critical) | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to neighbourhood and/or political transformation | Transformer / cultivates critical consciousness | 'Empowering' |
| Community organiser | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to neighbourhood and/or political transformation | Transformer / cultivates critical consciousness | 'Empowering' |
| Front-line public sector worker (community asset transfer) | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in public sector reform | Embraces public sector reform | 'Empowered' |
| Community development worker | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in coproduction | Embraces public sector reform | 'Empowered' |
| Front-line public sector worker (no community asset transfer) | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in public sector reform | Wants change / transformation | 'Disempowered' |
| Community development worker | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in coproduction | Wants change / transformation | 'Disempowered' |
| Social democratic bureaucrat | <i>Most marked / radically 'othered'</i> | Radically 'othered' from the public sector | Reluctant to change / rejects public sector reform | 'Disempowering' |

Table 6.6 re-affirms that the radical 'Other' of the National Transformation discourse is the social democratic bureaucrat who is spatially excluded from the

public sector due to their temporal reluctance to change and their rejection of public sector reform. The social democratic bureaucrat therefore reproduces as a 'disempowering' figure that discourages other subject positions from participating in such reform (Blond, 2010b; Glasman, 2011).

Table 6.6 also demonstrates that there are two possible articulations of front-line public sector workers. These are: (i) those who collectively 'own' their means of production / community asset and coproduce public services with local residents, and (ii) those who still work within council-owned assets in 'top-down' service provision:

"Ownership is the crucial means by which true leadership by front-line employees and real engagement by users of public services can be achieved. When both users and frontline can have a stake - a genuine share of ownership - in the organisations that deliver public services, then the benefits of real engagement will result. This has radical implications." (Blond, 2010b, p.271)

"More engaged public-service professionals who take responsibility for their services and their wider teams are less likely to stand by in cases of misconduct than *disempowered workers* who assume that intervening is the job of a manager or a regulator... staff in the most successful councils share a common set of characteristics in that they have a say in management decisions, they are able to use their initiative and creativity, and to contribute to planning their own work and they are kept well informed of organisational developments and change." (ibid, p.261; *emphasis added*)

This differentiation between front-line public sector workers who 'own' their means of production, i.e. undertaken a community asset transfer, and those who do not is apparent in these excerpts. The 'empowered' front-line public sector worker who has undertaken a community asset transfer is *privileged* as: spatially participating in public sector reform; temporally embracing change and public sector reform, and ethically 'empowered'. The removal of the social democratic bureaucrat is not enough to guarantee the successful transformation of "disempowered" front-line public sector workers into 'empowered' service producers who own their means of production. Both social entrepreneurs and political leaders emerge as 'empowering' and transformative subject positions:

"... a new power of civil association should be granted to all front-line service providers in the public sector. This power would allow the formation, under specific conditions, of new employee - and community-

owned 'civil companies' that would deliver the services previously monopolised by the state... The new civil company would be organised as a social enterprise... a joint venture between an employee trust and a private-sector contractor can [thus] be envisaged." (Blond, 2010b, p.242-243)

"Labour's capacity to achieve the necessary level of change will depend upon it rebuilding a strong and enduring relationship with the people. The loss of public trust in politicians and in Britain's system of representative democracy demands substantial and systemic reform. Political and economic power, both local and national, need to be entangled within and made accountable to a more democratic society." (Glasman *et al.*, 2011a, p.11)

These *privileged* subject positions of the social entrepreneur and the political leader are crucial to public sector reform, and pivotal to 'empower' front-line workers to 'own' their means of production. The coproduction relationship between 'empowered' front-line workers and local people also reproduces as critical across both official and oppositional debate:

"... the only way to see real improvement is if the system is re-structured. To this end we need to harness two powerful forces: the insight and dedication of front-line workers, and the engagement of citizens and communities. Too often these forces have been under-exploited or set in opposition. We need a new model that instead utilises them. I will argue that ownership is that model, and that ownership, realised differently for different groups, can be a part of what constitutes the necessary innovation for renewal of our public sector and our public services." (Blond, 2010b, p.239-240)

"In a comprehensive strategy community involvement and co-production would be practised across all public services in a locality and coordinated by neighbourhood partnerships led jointly by residents and providers... However, when people are struggling with poverty and multiple disadvantage, a pervasive feeling of disempowerment needs to be overcome if they are to be able to take an active part in local affairs." (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.5)

These passages show that local people reproduce as both 'empowered' and 'disempowered' within the National Transformation discourse in relation to their participation in coproduction. Consequently, there are two 'fleshed' out subject positions for local people to adopt under this discourse. *Table 6.7* presents these. Both social entrepreneurs and political leaders can assist in the transformation of

‘disempowered’, and *marked*, local people into ‘empowered’, and *privileged*, local people who coproduce local services.

Table 6.7 Local person subject positions available under the National Transformation discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--|----------------|
| Local person (coproducing) | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in coproduction | Embraces coproduction & public sector reform | ‘Empowered’ |
| Local person (not coproducing) | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in coproduction | Wants to coproduce services | ‘Disempowered’ |

Although community development workers are predominantly *marked* under this discourse as variants of the social democratic bureaucrat ‘Other’, those who work under the ‘wider’ community practice banner are, in fact, *privileged*:

“There is a need for leadership & expertise [in community practice]. This may come from experienced community development workers/teams/units if they exist in the locality, and are in tune with this [community practice] approach. Otherwise it must be found elsewhere. Traditional community development methods and style may need to be adapted and re-interpreted for the new situation [Coalition policy context].” (Chanan & Miller, 2013c, p.161)

“Whilst community practice is not a distinct occupation as such, arguably, it is important that practitioners recognise and hold on to a set of values and principles that define the overall rationale for the work and the ways in which they should treat the people and the groups with whom they work... [Community practice] also draws upon the values identified for community development work in the UK, which are now being promoted as applying not just to professionally qualified community development workers, but also to volunteers, practitioners in other professions who take a community development approach and managers of community development practice.” (Banks & Butcher, 2013, p.22)

Both extracts establish that *privileged* aspects of community development are those already present within community practice (“values and principles”) or are compatible with community practice and the policy context in the timeframe under study (“leadership and expertise”). There are two subject positions that community

development workers can adopt within the National Transformation discourse that potentially hold on to the title of ‘community development worker’. *Table 6.6* illustrates these, with ethically ‘empowered’ community development workers reproducing as spatially participating in coproduction and temporally embracing public sector reform. In contrast, the ethically ‘disempowered’ community development workers are *marked* as not spatially participating in coproduction but temporally want public sector change and transformation. The spatial, temporal and ethical identity constructions of both ‘empowered’ and the ‘disempowered’ community development workers are identical to ‘empowered’ and ‘disempowered’ local people illustrated in *table 6.7*. This has important implications for community development as, under National Transformation discourse, community development workers and local people reproduce as *equals* who *both* become ‘empowered’ when they are coproducing services together. Still, community development workers who articulate as temporally reluctant to change and reject public sector reform are radically ‘othered’ under this discourse as social democratic bureaucrats. Consequently, community development workers are nudged to work under the banner of community practice which embraces public sector reform and coproduction in the timeframe under study. This echoes the findings from section 4.3.1.

Oppositional discourse reproduces an additional articulation of the ‘community development worker’ signifier which can destabilise this ‘equal’ relationship between community development workers and local people. This is the ethically ‘empowering’ (critical) community practitioner from *table 6.6* who cultivates critical consciousness in others, has managerial duties, and works towards facilitating political and/or neighbourhood transformation. This subject position is bestowed with considerable discursive and political agency; often in relation to local people:

“... a key role of critical community practitioners is to work with others in community settings to raise awareness and develop critical consciousness of the political, economic and social contexts within which they work and subject the attitudes and behaviours of themselves and others to critical scrutiny. Following the terminology of Freire (1993), this process can be described as ‘conscientisation’. Here, the role of managers, and others that supervise and support community practitioners, can be very important and influential in encouraging critical reflection on the role of community practitioners and the purposes of their work.” (Banks & Butcher, 2013, p.26)

“The role of community practitioners is to ensure effective engagement of community members in the identification and realisation of such goals, based on values that emphasise 'active' and 'empowered' citizens, collectively and democratically working to change the conditions that affect people's lives in their communities.” (Banks *et al.*, 2013a, p.1)

“The book is addressed to policy makers, programme planners, managers, project leaders and trainers. But it is addressed equally to activists in communities and to practitioners at the front line, since these are the people who, ultimately, must make community practice happen - and who often see the need for it most clearly.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013a, p.6)

Banks & Butcher (2013) draw on Freirean influenced community development¹⁴⁴, and advocate that it is the role of (critical) community practitioners and community development workers to raise levels of critical consciousness in local people (“conscientisation”); with managers particularly *privileged* and bequeathed substantive agency (“very important and influential”). Banks *et al.* (2013a) advance this with community practitioners managing the critically conscious and ethically ‘empowered’ to work towards neighbourhood, or wider, transformation (“change the conditions”). Chanan & Miller (2013a) outline that it is professionals who predominantly nudge transformation; bestowing professionals with considerable agency at the expense of local people.

The community organiser subject position also reproduces as influenced by Freire under the National Transformation discourse. Identical to the transforming community practitioner, the community organiser is spatially constructed as crucial to neighbourhood and political transformation; temporally as a transformer who cultivates critical consciousness in others, and ethically as having the capability and responsibility to ‘empower’ and transform others¹⁴⁵. Yet, all excerpts above undermine the legitimacy of the social democratic, and *managerial*, bureaucrat ‘Other’. As previously stipulated, under the National Transformation discourse managerial public sector workers are ‘othered’ as ‘disempowering’ social democratic bureaucrats who are motivated by technocratic evaluations and meeting targets (Blond, 2010b; Chanan & Miller, 2013b; Glasman, 2011; Taylor, 2011c). Nevertheless, Banks & Butcher (2013), Banks *et al.*, (2013a) and Chanan

¹⁴⁴ See sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

¹⁴⁵ See Table 6.6.

& Miller (2013a) re-articulate managerial workers as ethically transforming and 'empowering' figures. This is problematic for the National Transformation discourse as, without a coherent, stable and radical 'Other', this discourse cannot fully articulate across national and local official and oppositional debate¹⁴⁶; augmenting its *marginal* status within the discursive field of community development in the timeframe under study.

Volunteers are barely sketched under the National Transformation discourse due to this discourse's emphasis on the coproduction of services between front-line public sector workers and local people. Also, this succession of findings chapters has demonstrated that most volunteering activity discussed under this discourse was incorporated into the unpaid social action component of the Enterprise discourse. Unlike the Enterprise discourse, this results in little overlap between the subject positions reproduced for volunteers and local people under the National Transformation discourse. There is some overlap and interaction between the 'volunteer' and 'professional' *empty signifiers*, however, and their resultant articulations in the oppositional texts:

"Community practice is therefore a professional role which helps people to be active in their community and to achieve improvements which they would be unable to achieve on their own, either because of the burdens of disadvantage or the unresponsiveness of public agencies. It is different from the role of activists, even though some experienced activists may carry out the professional role in a voluntary capacity."
(Chanan & Miller, 2013b, p.40)

"'Community practice' is an umbrella term that encompasses the work of volunteers and community activists, specialist community workers / community development workers (who have a main focus on work in/with communities), as well as the work of other professionals." (Banks *et al.*, 2013a, p.1)

"Voluntary community action and paid community work may sometimes be doing similar things but accountability makes a critical difference. Volunteers are accountable firstly to their own motivation and secondly to any organisation or group to which they voluntarily hold themselves accountable. Paid workers are accountable to an employer, whether it be a voluntary, statutory or private organisation. The employing or funding organisation, particularly if it is a statutory one, using public funds, will naturally want the worker to do things which are not being

¹⁴⁶ See section 3.2.3 on the third and seventh tenets of post-structuralist discourse theory (PDT).

done by activists and volunteers. There would be no paid community work if there was not a need for it, over and above what people do spontaneously for themselves and each other.” (Chanan & Miller, 2013b, p.40)

Although Banks *et al.* (2013a) outline some overlap between the subject positions articulated for professionals and volunteers involved in community development and related processes, there are key differences. In the first excerpt, community practice articulates as a profession and, subsequently, volunteers involved in community practice processes do not have the same status as professionals; with the exception of ‘experienced activists’ who articulate as *privileged*, but not as *privileged* as professionals. The third excerpt develops these findings to stipulate that professionals are held more to account, through public funding and its paper trail, than volunteers. Two volunteer subject positions thus articulate: the skilled volunteer and the unskilled volunteer, as *table 6.8* presents:

Table 6.8 Volunteer subject positions available under the National Transformation discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--|----------------|
| Skilled volunteer | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in coproduction | Embraces public sector reform | ‘Empowered’ |
| Unskilled volunteer | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in coproduction | Wants change but unprepared for reform | ‘Disempowered’ |

Here, skilled volunteers are more *privileged* than unskilled volunteers as they articulate as ethically ‘empowered’ and, temporally and ethically, prepared for public sector reform and coproduction due to their experience and skills. In contrast, unskilled volunteers constitute as temporally eager for transformation, coproduction and public sector reform but ethically ‘disempowered’ so are ill-prepared for it. Resultantly, ethically ‘empowering’ and transforming subject positions, such as the social entrepreneur, political leader and community practitioner, can transform unskilled volunteers into ‘empowered’ positions, which include skilled volunteers and *privileged* community development workers working under the banner of community practice. This chapter now turns to which subject

positions were available for key social actors to adopt in the Local Transformation discourse.

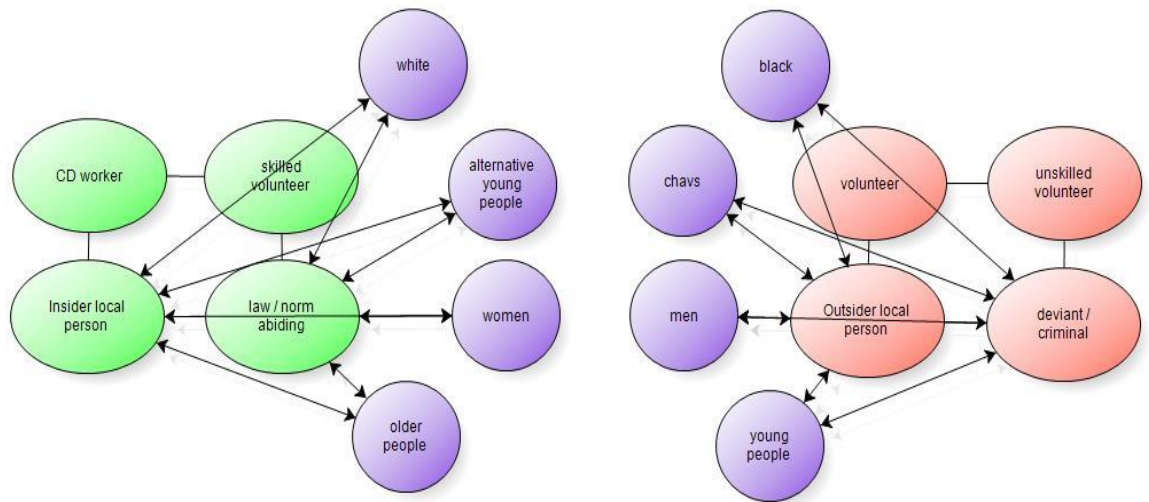
6.4 The Local Transformation discourse

6.4.1 Available subject positions

Figure 6.3 illustrates that the Local Transformation discourse reproduces six partial subject positions involved in community development processes¹⁴⁷. This figure is taken from the identity web of binaries for the Local Transformation discourse included as Appendix J. As discussed in section 5.3.1, the **insider (local people) – outsider (local people)** and the **professional – volunteer** binaries are dominant, and that community development under the Local Transformation discourse can potentially reproduce both transforming and exclusionary practices.

¹⁴⁷ 'Volunteer' is an *empty signifier* not a partial subject position and the 'law/norm abiding' signifier is combined with the 'insider local person' signifier to become the insider local person partial subject position who abides by the law and local norms.

Figure 6.3 Partial subject positions of the Local Authority Transformation discourse



Operationalising the fifth stage of PDA establishes that the spatial, temporal and ethical identity constructions of subject positions available under the Local Transformation reproduce four master subject positions. Spatial constructions available link to participation in, non-participation in and exclusion from community development projects committed to neighbourhood and/or personal transformation; temporal constructions concern capability for, and attitudes towards, neighbourhood and/or personal transformation; and ethical constructions focus on how 'empowered' subject positions are, whether they can 'empower' or 'disempower' other subject positions, and if they can support the transformation of others. *Table 6.9* presents these master subject positions:

Table 6.9 Master subject positions available under the Local Transformation discourse

| Master subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|--|
| Professional Self | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to neighbourhood and/or personal transformation | Breaks down (attitudinal) barriers | ‘Empowering’/ facilitates the transformation of others |
| Active citizen | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in community development committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation | Embraces change / transformation | ‘Empowered’ / supports the transformation of others |
| Passive citizen | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in community development committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation | Capable of change / personal transformation | ‘Disempowered’ / misguided |
| Deviant/ criminal ‘Other’ | <i>Radically ‘othered’</i> | Radically ‘othered’ from community development projects | Incapable of change / personal transformation | ‘Disempowering’ / threatening |

As detailed in section 5.3.1.1, two groups are represented as *outsiders* within CP1: (i) community members from the neighbouring estate; and (ii) chavs who displayed deviant and, at times, criminal behaviour. Section 5.3.1.2 demonstrates that two groups also articulate as *outsiders* in CP2: (i) community members from the same estate who did not share the values of those who attend CP2; and (ii) teenagers, black ‘foreigners’ and (macho) men who displayed deviant and, at times, criminal behaviour. The deviant / criminal ‘Other’ master subject position is used to ‘flesh out’ the deviant / criminal subject position and is the radical ‘Other’ of the Local Transformation discourse. This is due to its temporal construction as incapable of change and its ethical constitution as ‘disempowering’ and threatening to others who are capable of personal transformation. Thus, the deviant / criminal subject position is spatially denied access to community development projects. The ‘fleshed out’ subject positions available to all local people under this discourse are presented in *table 6.10*:

Table 6.10 Local person subject positions available under the Local Transformation discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| Insider local person | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in community development committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation | Embraces change / transformation | 'Empowered' / supports the transformation of others |
| Outsider local person | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in community development committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation | Capable of change / personal transformation | 'Disempowered' / misguided |
| Deviant/criminal | <i>Most marked / radically 'othered'</i> | Radically 'othered' from community development projects | Incapable of change / personal transformation | Disempowering' / threatening |

As sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2 established, some professionals, volunteers and local people from both CP1 and CP2 portray an *ethical responsibility* towards developing 'outsiders' into 'insiders'. However, these 'outsiders' must be temporally constituted as capable of change and personal transformation. Therefore, 'insiders' specifically bestow this *ethical responsibility* to outsider local people **not** to deviant / criminals. As detailed in section 5.3.1, the *floating signifiers* of 'chavs', 'young people', 'men' and 'blacks' all interact with both the *marked* 'outsider local people' and 'deviant/criminal' signifiers. As a result, these groups can potentially adopt two subject positions within this discourse: outsider local people or deviant/criminals. Outsider local people 'flesh out' through the passive citizen master subject position who are not spatially participating in community development projects committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation; ethically constituted as 'disempowered' and misguided, and temporally reproduce as capable of change. Therefore, if outsider local people commit to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation they can develop / be developed to adopt the insider local people subject position outlined in *table 6.10*.

This insider local people subject position is a *privileged* subject position available for local people to adopt in the Local Transformation discourse. In CP1, this it is available to young people who listen to alternative music (“(t)he majority of us are into rock music. Like Iron Maiden, Mayhem, Dead Sarah... all that sort of stuff” (CP1_LP2)), have musical talent (CP1_LP3; CP1_Vol1) and have family members already actively involved in CP1 (CP1_Vol3; CP1_LP2; CP1_LP3). In CP2, this subject position is available to older ladies and the white ‘British’ on the estate who share particular values (“[the people at CP2] have got great values. We’ve got family values... the family values we have, we pass on to other people” (CP2_LP2)). Insider local people also demonstrate an *ethical responsibility* to support the transformation of others – particularly outsider local people - to achieve ‘empowered’ and *privileged* status.

The instability of the **insider (local person) – outsider (local person)** binary of this discourse¹⁴⁸ is transferred on to the available subject positions for both local people and volunteers to adopt under this discourse. There is considerable overlap between across all available volunteer and local people subject positions¹⁴⁹ as a significant number of the participants interviewed have progressed from adopting one subject position to another and/or adopt more than one subject position within their associated community development project. For example, CP1_VolLP1, CP2_VolLP1, CP2_VolLP2, CP2_VolLP3 and CP3_VolLP1 were all originally service users within their projects but volunteered also at the time of interview. Throughout their interviews these participants would more regularly discuss the volunteer subject position available to them and would then proceed to *mark* binary terms associated with local people who did not volunteer even though this was a subject position they had once adopted within the project. Two clear, but contrasting, examples are CP2_VolLP1 and CP1_LP3. In her interview, CP2_VolLP1 discusses her role as a developing skilled volunteer due to her inclusion in the project’s board of trustees, and her acknowledgement that she was less developed and influential within the project as a service user only (“I’m involved in everything now. I have a real say”). Relatedly, CP1_LP3’s interview outlines how she was an ‘outsider’ and even deviant due to her previous subject position as a chav. Despite now adopting an ‘insider’ local person subject

¹⁴⁸ See sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2.

¹⁴⁹ Insider local person, outsider local person, deviant / criminal, skilled volunteer and unskilled volunteer.

position, CP1_LP3 was clear that she was still viewed as different within CP1 (“I don’t know if I’m accepted”) due to this background. Both CP1_LP3 and CP2_VolLP1’s identity webs of binaries reflect this as a number of binaries were unstable¹⁵⁰. Thus, the binaries of the Local Transformation discourse appear less stable than the binaries of the other available discourses.

Despite the insider local person’s *privileged* status, they are not ethically constituted as an ‘empowering’ subject position that can capably facilitate transformational processes under this discourse. Within both CP1 and CP2, the community development worker reproduces as so:

“[CP2_Prof1] brought his jolly little self. He’s attracted loads of stuff, especially with the kids coz he is great with the kids. Em. He’s attracted some of the fellas as well. None of the fellas would come at first. But actually, [CP2_Prof1] got a couple of them in. And they really enjoyed it.” (CP2_VolLP3)

“I think that all the work I have done has always been... focussing on people... disadvantaged people... who... have a tremendous amount of potential but, for whatever reason, find it more difficult to be released. Because... whether it’s because of their housing situation... because they’re homeless... or they’ve got this diagnosis... whatever it is... it is providing a forum for a facility where these people can, kind of, break out of that way of thinking and actually... see a way of moving forward. And I think that... thread really runs... of course, housing is different to community development... and it’s different to... em... HIV and AIDS... they’re different forums but the... heart is the same.” (CP2_Prof2)

“The majority of the people who work in the music project are... mainly musicians. And... as soon as you want to learn a... new instrument for example... they will always have the time to come and help you. And their role is to, like, help the young’ins... you know, to help them become more confident; to help them socialise... to help them practice their music. You know, the workers are always there for you.” (CP1_LP2)

In all three extracts the community development worker reproduces as a facilitator of both neighbourhood (“(h)e’s attracted loads of stuff”) and personal (“break out of that way of thinking”, “their role is to... help”) transformation. The community development worker subject position is ‘fleshed out’ by the ‘empowering’ professional Self master subject position; illustrated in *table 6.11*:

¹⁵⁰ Including **connected to others – not connected to others**; **self-confidence – lack of self-confidence**; **joy/aliveness – depression/listlessness** and **responsibility – lack of responsibility**.

Table 6.11 Professional subject positions available under the Local Transformation discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|--|
| Community development worker | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial to neighbourhood and/or personal transformation | Breaks down (attitudinal) barriers / facilitates transformation | ‘Empowering’/ facilitates the transformation of others |

The community development worker is the most *privileged* subject position available under the Local Transformation discourse and fully articulates as: spatially crucial to both personal and neighbourhood transformation; temporally as able to break down (attitudinal) barriers to facilitate either/both personal and neighbourhood transformation, and *ethically* as ‘empowering’ who has an *ethical responsibility* to facilitate the transformation of others – especially outsider local people into insider local people (CP1_Prof2; CP1_LP2; CP2_VoILP3; CP2_Prof1; CP2_Prof2). Community development workers are consequently bestowed with considerable agency, particularly in relation to local people. This replicates with volunteers¹⁵¹ as volunteers chiefly articulate within CP1 and CP2 as having *inferior* skills and commitment levels in relation to community development workers:

“So... I think – in theory – it would be great if you didn’t have to have a worker and people were just purely empowered together to do stuff through volunteering. I think though... with people being people... it is almost impossible for that to happen. Because if, actually, people are coming together from disparate areas... into a central meeting place... its almost easier because... they don’t have much to do with each other during the week. They could come together and... eat together... have a kid’s club together... and then go back to their place. That’s fine. But to do something in the local community where... this person lives opposite me, and that person lives opposite me... and I don’t like her... and her son came and smashed my window last week with his football... and actually he was dealing in drugs and did over my friend because she never paid her bill. To stop that spilling over into [CP2], and what’s going on in the community project... is very, very difficult.” (CP2_Prof2)

¹⁵¹ Which sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2 highlight.

“I think that, if you are a volunteer – like I’ve just said – if you are on the parent or toddler group or the sequence dance, or whatever... that’s what you’ll be attuned to... that’s what will set your values and you’ll work those ways... if you are a professional called into a centre (pause) well... you’re sorta there for everybody really. (pause) You’re trying to achieve for all the people... not just a couple of them, you know?” (CP1_Prof1)

“I would love [CP2_Prof1 and CP2_Prof2] to be full time here and [CP2] being... open every day... I would like to see more community development workers here and making more of a... well, I know we make a difference on the estate and we affect people’s lives in a positive way. But, if there was more of us, it could affect more people’s lives in a more positive way, do you know what I mean?” (CP2_Prof1)

All excerpts *privilege* the skills that professionals offer to community development projects in relation to volunteers, i.e. impartiality, broader vision and ability to transform people’s lives. Additionally, CP2_Prof1 and CP2_Prof2 emphasise the community development worker’s pivotal role in facilitating neighbourhood transformation by bringing together disparate groups. This emphasis on skills also differentiates between volunteers in the Local Transformation discourse; constructing a stable **skilled volunteers – unskilled volunteers** binary¹⁵² where skilled volunteers are relationally *privileged*:

“[CP1] a specialist job, really. You know... you have volunteers come along and support... but... for the content of the club really, it is a specialist area... and there’s a lot of musical needs... you know, it needs that specialist support. And I think that’s something that I’ve got really... to be able to carry on... training people like [CP1_Vol1].” (CP1_Prof2)

“I’ve been here about four year. I’ve been on the steering group for about two. Em. The steering group is that... we meet every three month... There’s a few of us on it. There’s not just me.” (CP2_VolLP1)

“Eh... we get some [volunteering] expertise from the likes of [name] who is a trained nutritionist... she comes in with different thoughts about... what we can cook and how we can cook it. The likes of [CP2_Vol1 and two others] who are just full of beans... they’re keen and they bring skills... I mean these guys are at uni or are just beyond now... I mean, it’s been twenty years since I was there... and – oh I don’t want to say that but – a little bit more since [CP2_Prof2] was there.” (CP2_Prof1)

¹⁵² See figure 6.3.

The first and third extract *privilege* both CP1_Vol1 and CP2_Vol2 for not only providing specialist skills but also for training at university to become youth and community development workers at the time of interview. In the second extract, CP2_VolLP1 reproduces as a skilled volunteer due to her inclusion on the board of trustees. *Table 6.12* presents the subject positions available to volunteers under the Local Transformation discourse:

Table 6.12 Volunteer subject positions available under the Local Transformation discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|----------------------------|-------------------|--|---|----------------------------|
| Skilled volunteer | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in community development committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation | Embraces transformation and supports the transformation of others | Transformed / 'empowered' |
| Unskilled volunteer | <i>Marked</i> | Participating in community development committed to personal and/or neighbourhood transformation | Capable of personal transformation | Disempowered' / developing |

From *table 6.12*, the skilled volunteer subject position is 'fleshed out' by the active citizen master subject position, i.e. spatially participating in personal and neighbourhood transformation; temporally embracing transformation and supporting the transformation of others, and ethically as 'empowered'. Unskilled volunteers only partially 'flesh out' with the passive citizen master subject position as they share ethical and temporal constructions but not spatial, i.e. unskilled volunteers participate in community development processes whereas passive citizens do not. Once again, community development workers reproduce as transformers and 'empowering' agents who facilitate the transformation of 'disempowered' but developing unskilled volunteers into 'empowered' and transformed skilled volunteers (CP1_Vol1; CP1_Prof2; CP2_Vol1; CP2_Prof2). This chapter moves on to establish which subject positions were available for

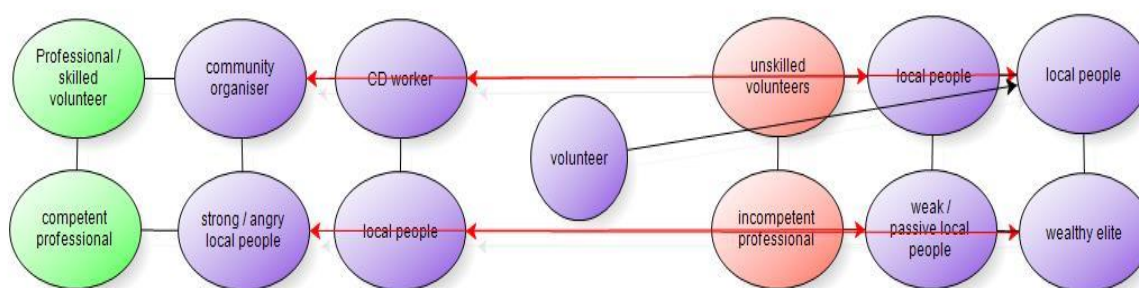
community development professionals, volunteers and local people to adopt within the Social Justice / Democracy discourse

6.5 The Social Justice / Democracy discourse

6.5.1 Available subject positions

Figure 6.4 portrays that the Social Justice / Democracy discourse articulates nine partial subject positions involved in community development and related processes¹⁵³. This is taken from the identity web of binaries of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse included as Appendix K:

Figure 6.4 Partial subject positions of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse



Using the fifth stage of PDA reveals that, similar to the National Transformation discourse, master subject positions do not reproduce under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse due to the emergence of two interrelated spatial locations: (i) independent civil society (movements) and (ii) affiliated with the state. With regards to the first spatial location, constructions available connect to participation and non-

¹⁵³ 'Local people' is an *empty signifier* which reproduces three times. The 'volunteer' *empty signifier* also reproduces once. These are not partial subject positions.

participation in, and exclusion from, independent civil society (movements). Concerning the second, constructions available focus on either fighting against the state and its affiliated institutions or being radically 'othered' as an agent of the state. Temporal constructions can also be split into two related categories: (i) capability for change and (ii) levels of critical consciousness. Therefore, under this discourse all subject positions are temporally judged on their capability for not only change but also their levels of critical consciousness. Finally, similar to all other discourses reproduced, ethical constructions focus on how 'empowered' subject positions are and whether they can 'empower' or 'disempower' other subject positions available within the Social Justice / Democracy discourse. *Table 6.13* presents the available spatial, temporal and ethical identities that are used to 'flesh out' the nine partial subject positions of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse:

Table 6.13 Spatial, temporal and ethical identities available within the Social Justice / Democracy discourse

| Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|---|--|--|
| Crucial for participation in civil society (movements) | Motivator / leader / develops critical consciousness in others | 'Empowering' / awareness raising |
| Fights against the state | Cultivating critical consciousness | 'Empowered' |
| Participating in civil society (movements) | Motivated / critically conscious | Developing |
| Not participating in civil society (movements) | Capable of change / cares for others | Competent / 'disempowered' |
| 'Othered' as an agent of the state | Apathetic / lack of critical consciousness | 'Disempowered' |
| Radically 'othered' as an agent of the state | Incapable of change / uncaring | Incompetent / 'disempowering' |
| Radically 'othered' from civil society (movements) | Incapable of change / unscrupulous | Oppressor / 'disempowering' / threatening. |

The **political activity – professional activity** and **professional competence – professional incompetence** oppositional practices¹⁵⁴ of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse particularly influence the constitution of subject positions available to professionals operating in community development processes. There is considerable debate in this discourse whether community development processes should focus on political or professional activity:

“[This] reflect(s) tensions which have existed about the nature and identity of community development for over forty years. From the early 1970s into the 1980s, this played out in terms of community development conceived as a professional versus a political activity.” (Bunyan, 2012, p.127)

“Our starting point in thinking about the political potential of progressive localism is the many traditions of place-based political activity and struggle that challenge the associations of localism with political passivity...” (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012, p.179)

“But by the time of the 2010 General Election it was getting hard to see where the spaces were going to be at local level within which community members could find an autonomous voice, or where the political education approaches that community workers adopted in the 1970s were taking place – especially outside the major conurbations.” (Taylor, 2012, p.26)

All excerpts demonstrate that the Social Justice / Democracy discourse *privileges* political activity in relation to professional activity; and suggests that this discourse shares some practices with the structural Marxist influenced Community Development Projects (CDPs) of the late 1960s / early 1970s¹⁵⁵. These findings also coincide with those from section 5.4.1.2 where (independent of the state) campaigning and activist (radical) practices were *privileged* in relation to the *marked* service provision focussed (reformist) practices of local governments. Additionally, section 5.4.1.2 delineated that the *marked* ‘professional incompetence’ signifier is closely associated with the ‘local governance’ and ‘professional activity’ signifiers. As a result, professionals who work for the public sector / local government have two subject positions available to them. These are

¹⁵⁴ Introduced in sections 4.4.2 and 5.4.1.2 respectively.

¹⁵⁵ These were discussed in section 2.2.5.

illustrated in *table 6.14* which lists all the subject positions available to professionals under this discourse:

Table 6.14 Professional subject positions available under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| Community development workers / community organisers (independent) | <i>Most privileged</i> | Crucial for participation in civil society (movements) | Motivator / leader / develops critical consciousness in others | Empowering' / awareness raising |
| Community development workers / community organisers (public sector / voluntary & community sector) | <i>Marked</i> | 'Othered' as an agent of the state | Capable of change / cares for others | Competent / 'disempowered' |
| Community development workers (public sector only) | <i>Most marked / radically 'othered'</i> | Radically 'othered' as an agent of the state | Incapable of change / uncaring | Incompetent / 'disempowering' |
| Community organisers (Alinskyan) | <i>Most marked / radically 'othered'</i> | Radically 'othered' from civil society (movements) | Incapable of change / uncaring | Oppressor / 'disempowering' / bullying. |
| Wealthy elite | <i>Most marked / radically 'othered'</i> | Radically 'othered' from civil society (movements) | Incapable of change / unscrupulous | Oppressor / 'disempowering' / threatening. |

Both 'fleshed out' subject positions available to public sector community development workers are spatially dismissed as agents of the state under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse. The ethically incompetent and 'disempowering' public sector community development worker, with its temporal constitution as incapable of change and comprising an uncaring attitude towards others (CP3_ProfVol1; CP3_Vol3), is radically 'othered'. Ethically competent but 'disempowered' public sector community development workers are spatially *marked* as they are agents of the state but temporally reproduce as capable of change due to having a more caring attitude (CP3_Vol1; CP3_VolLP1; CP3_LP1).

These are the two subject positions available to public sector community development workers under this discourse. Community development workers who work for the voluntary and community sector but are affiliated with local or central government are also ‘othered’ as agents of the state (Bunyan, 2012; CP3_ProfVol1; CP3_Vol3), but not radically ‘othered’ due to their temporal capacity for change and perceptions that the voluntary and community sector is more ‘caring’ than the statutory sector (CP3_LP1; CP3_VolLP1). Therefore, only the *marked* community development worker subject position is available for community development professionals who work in the voluntary and community sector ¹⁵⁶. This subject position is also available to community organisers from the Community Organisers Programme who are salaried by the state (Bunyan, 2012; Taylor, 2011). Similar to community development workers in the voluntary and community sector, community organisers are not radically ‘othered’ due to their temporal capacity for change and the policy expectation that they will become financially independent from the state (Cabinet Office, 2012a; 2013b).

Both community development workers and community organisers can be *privileged* within this discourse *if* they connect to *privileged* signifiers, i.e. ‘campaigning/activism’, ‘political activity’, ‘disability awareness’ and ‘rights’¹⁵⁷. Nevertheless, this *privileging* is curtailed if these subject positions overly associate with the ‘Alinskyan community organising’ *floating signifier*:

“We are concerned that [the Gamaliel Foundation] version of community organising training may be presented as suitable for those who are prepared to be challenged and who are strong enough to cope with it. Such value-laden messages may discourage participants from complaining or removing themselves from an abusive situation for fear of being labelled weak... hardly endemic of the intrinsic values of equality, respect, social justice and anti-oppressive practice that many community development practitioners have struggled for so long to protect.” (Mills & Robson, 2010, p.13)

“Community organizing runs the same risk as ‘community action’ – encouraging aggression, competition, and survival of the loudest. We need community development to ensure all parts of the community are empowered and the powerful don’t further oppress scape-goated communities.” (CDX, 2010; cited in Bunyan, 2012, p.127)

¹⁵⁶ Where the organisation they work for accepts central or local government funding.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix J for a full visual representation of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse.

Three important points emerge here. First, Alinsky-dominant methodologies of community organising, i.e. community organising practiced by the Gamaliel Foundation, are *marked* under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse as oppressive practices that ‘disempower’ local people (“discourage participants from complaining”, “abusive”). Second, contrary to the findings presented in sections 4.2.1 and 4.4.1, community development is *privileged* in relation to Alinsky-dominant methodologies of community organising (community development’s “intrinsic values of equality, respect, social justice and anti-oppressive practice”). Third, is the language used to characterise local people involved in community organising processes as lacking in discursive power and agency (“weak”, “scape-goated”). Yet, the Social Justice / Democracy discourse does not only rely on community development and community organising, and subsequently community development workers and community organisers, to ‘empower’ local people. It suggests that local people can ‘empower’ themselves through active participation in civil society movements:

“Saturday 3 December 2011 saw a hugely successful pre budget 'Parade of Defiance' against the IMF-imposed cuts throughout the streets of Cork. This was a creative protest organised by Occupy Cork to show the city's opposition to austerity measures and to raise our voices together against the undemocratic forcing of these cuts on the people of this country. Between 1,000 and 1,200 people marched behind banners with messages such as 'Not my Debt' and 'This is not a Recession, this is a Robbery'. (Occupy Cork (Issue 3, 2011); cited in Powell, 2013a, p.1)

“...envisioning progressive localism, following from this, necessitates thinking differently about the links between place-based politics and global processes... If we think in terms of different globalising processes that are worked through particular places, it becomes easier to see workers and communities as active agents in shaping and negotiating such processes (Featherstone 2008).” (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012, p.180)

“... civil society has morphed into a new lifeworld - a citizen-led theatre of global debate and digital action, whose many emerging socio-political narratives take experimental form (Blaagaard, 2012). In this new communicative reality civil society defines our collective self in the postmodern world - isolated, sometimes angry and concerned about the future.” (Powell, 2013a, p.2)

All extracts articulate local people as active social actors (“marched”, “active agents”, “digital action”) overcoming structural barriers (“austerity measures”,

“undemocratic... cuts”) through participation in radical democratic practices within civil society movements (“Parade of Defiance”, “Occupy”). There are limitations to this however. First, active and “angry” local people are *privileged* here *in relation to* passive and ‘weak’ local people who potentially need community development, or non-Alinsky-dominant community organising, intervention to *become* active and angry. This echoes the National Transformation discourse’s ethically transforming and ‘empowering’ community practitioner / community development worker / community organiser who cultivates critical consciousness in ‘disempowered’ and passive local people. This ‘empowering’ professional subject position in the Social Justice / Democracy discourse reproduces, in *table 6.14*, as an independent community development worker / community organiser who is the most *privileged* subject position available for professionals to adopt due to their ethical and temporal constructions as awareness raising social actors who can develop critical consciousness in others (Bunyan, 2012; Mills & Robson, 2010; Taylor, 2012).

Second, this discourse’s articulation of local people as active and angry social actors also suggests that they must be digital natives committed to collective action within global processes (“a citizen-led theatre of global debate and digital action”, “this new communicative reality”); potentially excluding those who are not technologically literate. Third, is the co-constitution of the wealthy elite as a second radical ‘Other’ of this discourse who is presented in *table 6.14*. These three limitations have important, and interconnected, implications for the articulation of subject positions available to local people in community development processes. Local people consistently reproduce as ‘disempowered’ by the threatening and oppressive wealthy elite (“(t)he message of the Occupy movement is a simple one... the 99%... have been expropriated by the wealthiest 1% of the population” (Powell, 2013a, p.2)), which co-constitutes local people’s weak and passive status. Local people are thus presented with two ‘fleshed out’ subject positions to adopt; illustrated in *table 6.15*:

Table 6.15 Local person subject positions available under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|--|--|----------------|
| Active / angry local person | <i>Privileged</i> | Participating in civil society (movements) | Motivated / critically conscious | 'Empowered' |
| Passive / weak local person | <i>Marked</i> | Not participating in civil society (movements) | Apathetic / lack of critical consciousness | 'Disempowered' |

Overall, passive / weak local people articulate as 'disempowered' by three radical 'Others' of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse: (i) incompetent / uncaring public sector professionals (CP3_ProfVol1; CP3_Vol3); (ii) Alinskyan-dominant community organisers (Bunyan, 2012; Mills & Robson, 2010), and (iii) the oppressive / unscrupulous wealthy elite (Featherstone *et al.*, 2012; Powell, 2013a). Local people can transform into ethically 'empowered', temporally critically conscious and thus active and angry local people through two processes. First, connecting with 'empowered', critically conscious, technology-literate and angry local people actively participating in civil society movements; bestowing considerable agency on to active local people at the expense of passive local people. Second, through the intervention of 'empowering' community development workers and community organisers; bequeathing agency on to community development workers and community organisers instead of local people. Local people who are not spatially participating in civil society movements are thus nudged to do so under this discourse through the intervention of 'empowering' community development workers and community organisers, or proximity to active (in civil society movements) and angry local people.

Section 5.4.1.2 detailed that, overall, volunteers are *marked* in relation to community development workers ("(t)he majority of people who volunteer get a very small initiation... when they come in. A very small training programme... they can end up doing a lot of damage" (CP3_ProfVol1)). Nevertheless, professional and skilled volunteers are *privileged* within this discourse, and articulate with considerable agency in relation to unskilled volunteers:

“I do think that I bring a lot of professional – and I’m using that in its broad sense – skills here as I’ve worked as a social worker and a trainer in various different organisations over the years... I’ve got that ability to sit at the other side of the table and... as a service user... with a service provider... and I’ve got a lot of insight coz I’ve done a lot of assessments work with lots of people.” (CP3_Vol2)

“I decided to... go and do some legal training, down in London. A charitable organisation who would help me get my son’s statement because... I was later successful in getting my son’s statement. And they were called IPSEY. So, I decided to go down there... and I did my SEN legal training with IPSEY... So, I offered my services voluntary... to help people fight the council.” (CP3_ProfVol1)

“There’s usually three [volunteers in CP3] but it is just me and [CP3_Vol1] just now. [CP3_ProfVol1] has... taken a leave of absence. But she did the most work... I must admit. Worked twice as hard as me and [CP3_Vol1] did. And that’s probably why... she’s needing a leave of absence.” (CP3_Vol3)

The first two extracts emphasise both CP3_Vol2 and CP3_ProfVol1’s qualifications and skills in social work and advocacy that were in demand in CP3. This is confirmed in the third excerpt where CP3_Vol3 comments that CP3_ProfVol1 did twice the amount of work that both CP3_Vol1 and CP3_Vol3 did because she was professionally qualified and they were not. However, both CP3_Vol1 and CP3_Vol3 reproduce as ethically developing (“I’ve started to make more decisions... and been on a few home visits to people, which I really enjoy.” (CP3_Vol1)) and temporally as cultivating critical consciousness (“I didn’t know my rights... and the rights of my son. But I do now.” (CP3_Vol3)). *Table 6.16* presents the subject positions available for volunteers to adopt under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse:

Table 6.16 Volunteer subject positions available under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse

| Subject position | Status | Spatial | Temporal | Ethical |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Professional / skilled volunteer | <i>Most privileged</i> | Fights against the state | Motivator / leader / develops critical consciousness in others | Empowering’ / awareness raising |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Unskilled volunteer | <i>Privileged</i> | Fights against the state | Cultivating critical consciousness | Developing |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|

There are two important developments from this table. First, that the professional / skilled volunteer is an ethically ‘empowering’ subject position, like the ‘empowering’ community development worker and community organiser, who can transform passive / weak local people into both active / angry local people and ethically ‘developing’ volunteers – confirming the findings of section 5.4.1.2. Second, in contrast to the other three available community development discourses, the unskilled volunteer subject position is not regarded as passive here, i.e. being ‘fleshed out’ by the passive citizen master subject position. Under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, unskilled volunteers have a more *privileged* status as they are spatially participating in a community development project that fights against the state and they are ethically and temporally developing their agency and levels of critical consciousness. Importantly, all volunteers involved in CP3 have a close family member diagnosed as autistic and have significant experience caring for them (CP3_Vol1; CP3_Vol2; CP3_Vol3). It is this (specialist) knowledge and experience that bestows unskilled volunteers with *privileged* status under this discourse.

6.6 Conclusion

The subject positions available to key social actors across all four discourses confirm that the status of community development was under duress throughout the Coalition’s time in office. Under the hegemonic Enterprise discourse, community development worker subject positions are either *marked* as not participating in ‘Big Society’ or radically ‘othered’ as New Labour bureaucrats. Thus, community development workers were nudged to adopt more *privileged* professional subject positions, i.e. the community organiser, neighbourhood management worker, professional volunteer and, especially, the social entrepreneur. This suggests that community development did not simply disappear

under the Enterprise discourse. Instead, its practices were re-shaped under the banners of social enterprise, community organising, neighbourhood management and volunteering to promote and facilitate the growth of social enterprises and voluntary community groups to provide local services. Local people were also nudged to adopt volunteer subject positions, i.e. the enforced volunteer, the skilled volunteer and, to a lesser extent, the locally elected representative; to develop the relevant skills, experience and responsibility to become social entrepreneurs and/or professional / skilled / enforced volunteers.

Subject positions available under the National Transformation discourse suggest that community development did not have a defined role in the political transformation of both the Conservative and Labour Party, and their visions for public sector reform and coproduction. Community development professionals who rejected public sector reform and coproduction were vulnerable to radical 'othering' as social democratic bureaucrats; hence were nudged to adopt the more *privileged* subject positions of the community practitioner, social entrepreneur and, to a lesser extent, the community organiser. Again, community development was re-shaped under the banners of social enterprise and community practice to promote and facilitate public sector reform and the coproduction of services between professionals and local people. Professionals were also nudged, where appropriate, to undertake a community asset transfer to 'own' their means of production. Local people reproduce both with and without agency. Under coproduction, equal power relations emerge between 'empowered' front-line public sector workers (including community development workers re-branded as community practitioners) and 'empowered' local people. Local people not participating in coproduction articulate as requiring intervention from *privileged* professionals – including the 'empowering' (managerial) community practitioner, the social entrepreneur and the political leader – to become 'empowered' to participate in public sector reform. Although volunteer subject positions available under this discourse are sparse, skilled volunteers articulate as agentic subject positions in relation to unskilled volunteers due to the former's participation in facilitating the coproduction of local services.

All three community development projects enact the Local Transformation discourse, especially CP1 and CP2. The community development worker articulates as the most *privileged* and agentic subject position with the capability to

break down (attitudinal) barriers by promoting positive relationships, networks and trust to enable both neighbourhood and personal transformation. This includes the agency to transform outsider local people and unskilled volunteers into insider local people and skilled volunteers. But, evidence confirms that, due to redundancies and difficulties obtaining funding, the community development worker subject position was in decline in this local authority as community development workers were consistently nudged to adopt the social entrepreneur subject position to embed the Enterprise discourse's dominant practices within these projects. Therefore, community development processes were re-shaped in this local authority to mirror national developments.

Within the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, only radical democratic community development practices that are independent of the state, and committed to egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice, are *privileged* and legitimated. This is evidenced in the availability of subject positions for key social actors involved in community development processes. Although there were four subject positions available to community development professionals, only 'empowering' and critically conscious community development workers and community organisers who worked independently of the state were *privileged*. Two subject positions were available to local people. But, only active local people developing critical consciousness had agency. 'Disempowered' local people articulated as requiring intervention from empowered and critical conscious community development workers and community organisers to become 'empowered' and critically consciousness. The professional and skilled volunteer also articulated as an 'empowering' subject position who can 'empower', develop and motivate both unskilled volunteers and, to a lesser extent, 'disempowered' local people to cultivate critical consciousness. This marks the end of my empirical findings. The next, and final, chapter concludes this thesis as a whole.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions, contributions and future trends

7.1 Introduction

This investigation has two research objectives: (i) to determine which discourses of community development were available during the administration of the Coalition government (2010 – 2015); and (ii) to establish what implications these discourses have for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes in England. Chapters four, five and six ascertained that four community development discourses were available during the Coalition government's five-year administration. These chapters revealed that each discourse reconceptualises community development in a distinct way and reproduces a spectrum of subject positions, particular to each discourse, that key social actors involved in community development processes could adopt. In addition, these chapters discussed some implications that each discourse and their associated subject positions have for community development; including for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes. This final chapter demonstrates how my findings respond to the research aim and questions of the thesis; how I make an original contribution to knowledge, and the wider implications of this study.

In section 7.2, I present a brief summary of my empirical findings that answer my research questions. In section 7.3 I outline how these findings achieve the research aim and present an empirical, and original, contribution to knowledge. Next, I outline how this thesis makes theoretical and methodological contributions to knowledge. In section 7.4, I delineate the wider implications of my findings for the community development field in England. Section 7.5 moves on to discuss some limitations of this study. Section 7.6 then concludes this thesis by connecting my findings and conclusions to post-2015 community development in England and the broader field of development studies; and presents an outline for post-doctoral study.

7.2 Research focus and synopsis of findings

The aim of this investigation is:

to determine what happened to community development in England during the five-year administration of the Coalition government and its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes.

The opening chapter indicated that the community development landscape in England altered during this timeframe, with the professional community development profile “in decline” (Banks et al., 2013a, p.3). A review of academic debate surrounding the Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity suggested that this programme had implications for community development processes in both the public and the voluntary and community sector (VCS) in England. This was particularly the case in the north-east of England where the most deprived local authority councils had their budgets cut significantly more than their southern counterparts (Hastings *et al.*, 2015b; Wilding, 2011). This programme resulted in significant losses for the community development infrastructure in both England and in the north-east; although exact numbers are still to be determined (CLES, 2014). Prior to this thesis, an in-depth study had not been undertaken to investigate the implications of the Coalition programme for the community development field in England, nationally and in a local authority in the north-east. I located my research within this lacuna and operationalised a post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA) methodology to achieve my research aim.

The findings chapters of this investigation were structured to answer the following research questions:

- (i) *What were the competing discourses of community development available in England between 2010 and 2015?*
- (ii) *Which of these discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced?*
- (iii) *What subject positions were available within each discourse for professionals, volunteers and local people to adopt within community development processes?*

Addressing the first research question, the findings of this investigation establish four competing discourses available across the discursive field of community development in England: the Enterprise, National Transformation, Local Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses. Definitions of these discourses are outlined in *figure 7.1*:

Figure 7.1 Definitions of the community development discourses available (2010-2015)

1. *Enterprise discourse*: endorses the devolution of service provision responsibility to civil society and its key social actors, and nudges these social actors to form social enterprise service delivery structures or volunteer in / form community groups that cater to local (service) needs;
2. *National Transformation discourse*: promotes the political transformation of both the Conservative and the Labour Party, and the transformation of public services through public sector professionals and local people coproducing services;
3. *Local Transformation discourse*: facilitates both neighbourhood and personal transformation, and fosters community spirit, through participation in community development processes;
4. *Social Justice / Democracy discourse*: offers an alternative to neoliberal hegemony and supports civil society movements committed to radical and active democracy and egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice that operate independent of the state.

The Enterprise and Social Justice / Democracy discourses were available nationally and in the case study local authority. As their names suggest, the National Transformation discourse was available nationally and the Local Transformation discourse in the case study local authority. Remnants of the Partnership discourse, available during the New Labour administration, were present within a few early policy texts in this local authority. However, the Partnership discourse was not available to enact here as the New Labour administration had been re-articulated by the Enterprise and National Transformation discourses as a bureaucratic and social democratic failure that was responsible for 'broken' Britain in early 2010. As a result, both New Labour and the Partnership discourse - and community development practices associated with both - were radically 'othered' during this timeframe.

Answering the second research question, the Enterprise discourse dominated the discursive field under study due to its hegemonic articulation nationally and in this

local authority. Although some texts criticised elements of the Enterprise discourse, i.e. the public sector cuts, relying on volunteering, overburdening volunteers, de-politicising the voluntary and community sector, and the commitment to neoliberal hegemony; this discourse's dominant practices made intertextual links across all five genres of texts analysed¹⁵⁸. The National and Local Transformation discourses reproduced as marginal discourses of community development as both did not make the necessary intertextual links across the different genres of texts¹⁵⁹. Evidence suggested that these marginal discourses could not wield enough discursive and political power to disrupt the Enterprise discourse's dominant practices. Lastly, the Social Justice / Democracy discourse was silenced due to the Enterprise discourse's promotion of libertarian 'fairness' and equal opportunities which eclipsed a more egalitarian and redistributive conceptualisation of equality and social justice in the national and local authority policy texts. Yet, in academic and grassroots debate the Social Justice / Democracy discourse re-articulated as an oppositional discourse capable of using its practices to challenge the hegemony of the Enterprise discourse. However, there was insufficient evidence to suggest that this oppositional discourse could effectively challenge the Enterprise discourse, both nationally and in the case study local authority, during this timeframe.

Responding to the third research question, the findings reveal that all four available discourses reproduced a spectrum of subject positions that professionals, volunteers and local people in community development processes could adopt. However, the hegemony of the Enterprise discourse was pervasive. The findings show that this discourse narrows the availability of the community development worker subject position and nudges community development professionals to adopt the more *privileged* subject positions of the social entrepreneur, professional volunteer, community organiser and, to a lesser extent, the neighbourhood management worker. In addition, contrary to the Enterprise discourse's rhetoric of 'empowering' local people, this discourse nudges local

¹⁵⁸ (i) Key influences on policy; (ii) national policies / strategies; (iii) case study local authority policies / strategies; (iv) academic debate; (v) grassroots debate in the local authority case study.

¹⁵⁹ The National Transformation discourse appeared in a number of key political influences on policy and academic debate texts. Although the Local Transformation discourse was only available in grassroots debate, it was *widely* available in this debate and was enacted throughout all three community development projects: community project 1 (CP1), community project 2 (CP2) and community project 3 (CP3).

people to adopt volunteer subject positions within existing community development processes. This was evidenced in the case study local authority where all three community development projects (CP1, CP2, CP3) reported more reliance on volunteers - the majority of whom were service users of that project - who were adopting professional responsibilities unsalaried. This substantiated criticisms raised by academic debate and the local authority council that volunteers were being used to replace statutory and voluntary sector community development workers made redundant during this timeframe (Council, 2012a; 2013; Dean, 2013; Lowndes & McCaughie, 2013; Powell, 2013a). The findings also outline that even though the participants of all three community development projects had adopted subject positions that were available under the Local Transformation and/or Social Justice / Democracy discourses, they still reported increasing nudges to adopt subject positions available under the Enterprise discourse; especially the social entrepreneur, professional volunteer and skilled volunteer¹⁶⁰. These developments propose that the Enterprise discourse's promotion of social enterprises and volunteering is part of an overarching neoliberal agenda to 'roll-out' citizen responsabilisation where citizens are nudged to provide local services rather than 'relying' on state intervention and resources¹⁶¹ (cf. Hastings *et al*, 2015a).

The research aim of this investigation is to determine what happened to community development in England during the five-year administration of the Coalition. The answer to this aim also fills a gap in knowledge in the discursive field under study. According to post-structuralist discourse theory (PDT), hegemonic discourses deploy the most political power and authority to re-shape and identities and social practices in their discursive fields (Hansen, 2006; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Torfing, 1999). The Enterprise discourse does not endorse community development and implicitly 'others' it as a bureaucratic, top-down, inefficient and interfering practice descendant from New Labour. Instead, this discourse promotes the related practices of social enterprise, volunteering, community organising and, to a lesser extent, neighbourhood management; which

¹⁶⁰ This fully materialised in CP1 where both CP1_Prof1 and CP1_Prof2 were made redundant and CP1_Prof1 continued working with the project as a professional volunteer.

¹⁶¹ Both neighbourhood management and the Community Organisers Programme were also using localism legislation to encourage the formation of social enterprises and voluntary-run community groups to provide local services (Bunyan, 2012; Council, 2012a; CP1_Prof1; Locality, 2010).

the subject positions available under this discourse confirmed. The empirical findings advise that this negative conceptualisation of community development dominated central and local governments' decision-making processes to cut available funding to community development, which led to considerable losses in community development infrastructure nationally and in this local authority, i.e. redundancies and funding pots either reduced or vanished. This led to an increasing reliance on volunteers during this timeframe to keep existing community development processes afloat. There were also consistent nudges for community development processes to use localism legislation, particularly community asset transfers, to re-shape community development provision under social enterprise structures. These developments were evidenced in the case study local authority where CP1 was being encouraged by neighbourhood management to undertake a community asset transfer; and CP2 and CP3 were reporting increasing pressures, and nudges from the local authority council as evidenced in policy¹⁶², to adopt a social enterprise service delivery structure. Participants also reported that local authority council neighbourhood management workers had recommended that neighbouring community development projects do so also. Consequently, during this timeframe community development was silenced as a unique and legitimate community-based practice under the Enterprise discourse, and was re-shaped as social enterprise, volunteering and, to a lesser extent, community organising.

The National Transformation discourse consolidates these developments by conceptualising community development as an out-of-date practice descendant from technocratic and bureaucratic social democracy dominant in the Labour Party since the 1940s. Community development was also nudged under this discourse to re-shape, but slightly differently, as social enterprises 'owned' by public sector workers (employee-owned assets) and community practice committed to the coproduction of local services between public sector professionals and local people. Community development workers coproducing services under this discourse were still vulnerable to losing the 'community development worker' subject position due to the discredited status of community development. Thus community development workers were nudged to adopt more *privileged* subject

¹⁶² Council (2012a) explicitly states the local authority council is supporting CP2 to become a social enterprise "... to solve problems regarding service provision themselves as opposed to the expectation of the council and partners being the direct provider" (p.8).

positions that may not have promoted community development methods and values. As established in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, empirical theorists in the community development field ascertain that the values and methods community development employs differentiates community development from its related community-based practices. This opens up questions regarding whether the re-shaping of community development practices as social enterprise, volunteering, community organising or community practice in this timeframe can actually be legitimately regarded as community development¹⁶³.

The Social Justice / Democracy discourse is the only discourse that can challenge these developments at a national level¹⁶⁴. The empirical findings establish that this discourse *privileges* the 'community development' signifier and articulates it as a radical and active democratic process that operates within civil society movements independent of the state and is committed to egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice. CP3, from the case study local authority, operationalised this understanding of community development despite having no wider connections to a civil society movement. In line with the oppositional practices of this discourse, the participants of CP3 'othered' community development practiced by the local authority council and *marked* community development processes of the VCS as co-opted. These developments reinforce the 'othering' and *marking* of community development unveiled under the Enterprise and National Transformation discourses. The Social Justice / Democracy discourse endorses community development processes connected to community and civil society *movements*, not sectors, as the latter is claimed to both de-politicise and neoliberalise community development (cf. Ledwith, 2005; Powell, 2013; Taylor, 2012). As a result, British governments who have supported the incorporation of community development into the community and civil society *sector* are susceptible to 'othering' and denunciation¹⁶⁵. The New Labour government was one such government (cf. Carmel & Harlock, 2008; Taylor, 2012; Wallace, 2010). Consequently, the Enterprise, National Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses all constitute their own New Labour 'Other' which is held responsible for the discredited state of community development in England from 2010 to 2015.

¹⁶³ I return to this point in section 7.4.

¹⁶⁴ The LA Transformation discourse was not available nationally.

¹⁶⁵ Section 2.2.5 provided an overview of this.

Following Laclau and Mouffe's (1985; 2001) PDT, both the National Transformation and, to a lesser extent, Social Justice / Democracy discourse cannot dislocate the hegemonic articulation of the Enterprise discourse as they all share comparable conceptualisations of a New Labour 'Other' and, therefore, attempts to deconstruct this 'Other' can result in the deconstruction and denunciation of their own oppositional practices. As section 3.2.3 specified, the radical 'Other' demarcates the limits of a discursive field as the hegemonic discourse's dominant practices are co-constituted in relation to the radical 'Other', i.e. **Big Society – Big State; citizen responsibility – government responsibility; social enterprise – state funded services**. For a discourse to become hegemonic it must attempt to totalise the social by 'convincing' its discursive field that its articulation of the radical 'Other' is legitimate and 'truthful'. In turn, this legitimates the hegemonic discourse and its dominant practices as oppositional to those practiced by the radical 'Other' (cf. Hansen, 2006; Laclau, 1996; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). The radical 'Other' is thus both the embryo and the Achilles heel of hegemonic discourses. By attacking the legitimacy of the radical 'Other', the dominant practices of the hegemonic discourse must shift accordingly. This bestows competing discourses an opportunity to redefine the radical 'Other' and, subsequently, re-articulate the dominant practices of that discursive field. Both the National Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses cannot effectively do this as attacking the radical 'Other' could result in their oppositional practices being discredited and, potentially, the dissolution of both discourses.

Nevertheless, my analysis also demonstrates that the radical 'Other' of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse is not restricted to the New Labour 'Other' and its 'fleshed out' subject position of the incompetent and 'disempowering' public sector community development worker. Both Alinskyan community organisers and the wealthy elite ('the 1%') also 'flesh out' as radical 'Others' that are 'disempowering', bullying and/or unscrupulous as they do not fight for egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice. There is an opportunity here for the community development field in England to unite against such a 'common enemy'¹⁶⁶; particularly the wealthy elite which the *Occupy* and *Podemos* movements have

¹⁶⁶ Section 3.2.3's discussions on the third and seventh central tenets of post-structuralist discourse theory (PDT) detail how a 'common enemy' is constructed and used within PDT.

already used to successfully mobilise thousands around the world (Errejón & Mouffe, 2016; Iglesias, 2015; Powell, 2013). But, how community development re-articulates and is practised within global civil society movements is under-researched; as are the connections between such global movements and existing community development processes in England¹⁶⁷.

The Local Transformation discourse only competed with the Enterprise discourse in the community development projects as there is no trace of this discourse in the remaining fifty-four texts analysed using PDA. This suggests that the Local Transformation discourse could be an oppositional discourse specific to this local authority or may have descended from a national discourse of community development that was available, and was subsequently endorsed and legitimated by the local authority council, in another timeframe. Its oppositional practices, i.e. **community spirit – lack of community spirit; connected to others – not connected to others; law/norm abiding – deviant/criminal** appear to share practices with communitarianism¹⁶⁸; but also commit to neighbourhood and personal transformation which involves breaking down (attitudinal) barriers in local areas. Prior to CP2 becoming a community development project, the premises had been accessed by ‘elite’ residents only; with discrimination and stereotyping endemic on the estate against (deviant) teenagers, (black) outsiders and (macho) men¹⁶⁹. At the time of interview these issues were being challenged through using community development methods and promoting community development values¹⁷⁰ which suggests this discourse also promotes anti-oppressive practice¹⁷¹. However, the origins of the Local Transformation discourse, and its subsequent ability to challenge the hegemony of the Enterprise discourse at a national level, are outside the boundaries of this investigation.

¹⁶⁷ As my findings demonstrate, there was scope for CP3 to connect to such global movements as this project endorses community development processes that operate independent of the state and are committed to egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice. More research is needed to establish how projects such as CP3, who predominantly operate under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, are re-shaping community development processes in England.

¹⁶⁸ Section 2.2.5 provided a detailed discussion on communitarianism, its adoption by New Labour and its implications for community development from 1997-2010.

¹⁶⁹ These discussions are located in section 5.3.1.2.

¹⁷⁰ Section 5.3.1.2 discusses the introduction of children and youth projects, foreign / outsider volunteers and a men’s group into CP2.

¹⁷¹ See Mills & Robson (2010) for their discussions on community development’s commitment to anti-oppressive practice.

7.3 Contributions to knowledge

The previous section presented my empirical account of what happened to community development in England, at both a national and a local level, during the five-year administration of the Coalition government; focussing on the hegemonic Enterprise discourse's re-shaping of community development as social enterprise, volunteering and community organising which dominated the policy landscape from 2010 to 2015. An analysis of how each of the four available community development discourses were constituted, and how each discourse nudged professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes to adopt particular subject positions which led to the decline of the community development worker subject position, was also outlined. This achieves the research aim of this investigation¹⁷² and is my empirical, and original, contribution to knowledge.

My theoretical contribution to knowledge is that I build upon Emejulu's (2010) re-formulation of community development as a discursive field of knowledge by reconceptualising: (i) the community development field in England as its own discursive field of knowledge; and (ii) community development as an *empty* and *floating signifier* which takes on particular meanings depending on the discourses reproduced within this discursive field. In doing so, this thesis evidences that the academic and practitioner community development field in England both shapes and is shaped by competing discourses of community development 'fighting' for hegemonic articulation; and stresses that, to the detriment of the field, this is rarely acknowledged nor engaged with. In addition, by not undertaking my analysis with a set definition of community development¹⁷³ that, in theory, could have biased the analysis, this thesis was able to establish how each available discourse re-positions the 'community development' signifier to re-articulate their own definition of community development. Accordingly, my findings show that each discourse defines community development differently. *Figure 7.2* presents these definitions:

¹⁷² To determine what happened to community development in England during the five-year administration of the Coalition government and its implications for professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes.

¹⁷³ Sections 1.2 and 2.2.1 to 2.2.6 demonstrate that empirical theorists within the community development field in England tend to operationalise a preferred definition of community development that can then be used to 'other' competing definitions within the field.

Figure 7.2 Competing definitions of community development by discourse

1. *Enterprise discourse*: an ineffective relic of the previous New Labour government that was bureaucratic, top-down, inefficient and interfering;
2. *National Transformation discourse*: an out-of-date practice descendant from technocratic and bureaucratic social democracy dominant in the Labour Party since the 1940s;
3. *Local Transformation discourse*: an 'empowering' process that effectively breaks down (attitudinal) barriers that can inhibit neighbourhood and/or personal transformation, and the fostering of community spirit;
4. *Social Justice / Democracy discourse*: a radical and active democratic process that operates within civil society movements that are independent of the state and are committed to egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice.

By reconceptualising the community development field, and community development, in such ways, this thesis delivers a detailed overview of how the Coalition programme was able to silence community development as a distinct and legitimate community-based practice; and then re-shape its practices nationally and locally through the (re)positioning and (re)articulation of *nodal points*, *floating signifiers* and *empty signifiers*¹⁷⁴. Again, the community development field in England rarely considers this when offering 'new' and 'improved' definitions of community development. I would argue that this theoretical understanding community development as an *empty* and *floating signifier*, underpinned by Laclau & Mouffe's PDT, offers the field alternative toolkit to examine how community development is re-shaped and re-defined within different socio-economic and political climates.

My methodological contribution to knowledge is that I develop Hansen's PDA methodology in three ways: (i) adding an additional stage of PDA which includes the construction of identity webs of binaries as a mechanism to find convergences and divergences between individual texts¹⁷⁵; (ii) including primary data as texts to be analysed; and (iii) incorporating a case study element into Hansen's research design be able to study the micro, meso and macro levels within a discursive field

¹⁷⁴ All three are also referred to in this study as dominant and oppositional practices.

¹⁷⁵ To then undertake the remaining four stages of PDA with, arguably, more clarity, authenticity and trustworthiness.

of study¹⁷⁶. This was the most challenging element of this thesis, especially in which took over sixteen months to complete with seventy-four texts to analyse. After reading Emejulu's (2010) thesis, I decided that the conceptual framework she operationalised would allow me to 'best' fulfil my research aim, objectives and questions. However, some adjustments were needed as Emejulu (2010) studied discourses at a national level only. I then consulted Hansen (2006) and adapted her PDA methodology accordingly.

Another methodological contribution to knowledge is that this thesis provides a step-by-step blueprint of how I operationalised this methodology; including how I undertook PDA on each individual text to form identity webs of binaries, and how I used these webs of binaries to carry out Hansen's four stages more carefully and thoroughly. I added this additional stage to Hansen's PDA as, in the initial stages of my own analysis, I could not fully discern from either Hansen (2006) or Emejulu's (2010) study the 'nuts-and-bolts' of how they undertook PDA with each individual text to then isolate basic discourses, dominant practices, oppositional practices and identity constructions. I returned to both Derrida's deconstruction and Laclau & Mouffe's central tenets of PDT for additional insight and, subsequently, used both to analyse each individual text. This thesis thus provides additional tools to help 'de-mystify' both PDA and PDA methodologies; and can provide additional confidence and clarity to researchers using these.

I consider this investigation a methodological success as I was able to fulfil the research aim and objectives, and answer the research questions, of this thesis using both Hansen's methodology and my three modifications to it. Therefore, I would recommend this methodology, and my alterations of it, to researchers interested in exploring the co-constitutive relationship of social policy and the identity and social practices of key social actors within different discursive fields of knowledge; particularly from the fields of community development, social policy and political sociology. Nonetheless, it is important to pause to reiterate that Hansen's methodology was not designed for research in such academic and practice fields. As discussed in sections 3.2.2, 3.2.3 and 3.6.1, both PDA and Hansen's methodology were constituted within the field of international relations,

¹⁷⁶ In this study - macro: national; meso: local authority; micro: individuals in community development projects.

which commits to the study of national and international discourses rather than regional or local discourses (cf. Hansen, 2006). With hindsight, interconnecting local and national discourses using Hansen's framework was a complicated, cumbersome and time-consuming process that was, at times, difficult to achieve. This was mostly due to the inclusion of primary data as some of the participants – particularly the non-professional volunteers and local people – sparsely reiterated key phrases embedded within the policy and academic texts; upon which Hansen's framework is dependent to achieve intertextuality. But, adding the case study element to the research design ameliorated this and gave more scope to explore how local discourses can be specific to local authorities and/or may descend from national discourses of community development that were available in a different timeframe.

Alas, the immediate benefits of Hansen's methodology may be more obvious to researchers, like Emejulu (2010), who are interested in studying national and international discourses rather than more regional or local discourses. Yet, this thesis attests to the possibility of studying discourses across *all* these levels; but that additional work and modifications to Hansen's methodology may be required to achieve this. I discuss more potential modifications in section 7.5 where I outline the limitations of this investigation. Now, this thesis moves on to discuss the wider implications of my findings and contributions for the community development field in England by re-visiting the field's three embedded problems.

7.4 Wider implications of findings

Figure 7.3 Three embedded problems within the community development field

1. It is difficult to define community development and separate it from its related practices of community work, neighbourhood work, neighbourhood management, community organising and community practice; leading to porous boundaries and disagreements in the community development field as to where the limits of community development lie;
2. An unhelpful **radical – reformist** binary within not only community development but its related practices, where radical practices are largely unquestionably regarded as more 'pure' and 'authentic' forms of such community-based practices;
3. Unequal and antagonistic relationships between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes that are rarely questioned and problematised within the community development field.

In section 2.5, I stipulated that the community development field in England was under duress and fragmented prior to the formation of the Coalition in 2010 due to the embedded nature of three historical problems within the field¹⁷⁷. *Figure 7.3* revisits these. My findings reveal that these problems were also present from 2010-2015. Regarding the first problem, all four available discourses define community development in contrasting ways; which *figure 7.2* details. In addition, the Enterprise, National Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses reproduce porous boundaries between community development and its related practices. For example, the Enterprise discourse re-shapes community development as social enterprise, community organising, neighbourhood management and volunteering; the National Transformation discourse urges community development to re-articulate under social enterprise / employee-owned assets and community practice; and the Social Justice / Democracy discourse reproduces a consistent overlap reproduced between community development, community organising and, in the case study local authority, volunteering. Only the Local Transformation discourse repeatedly differentiates between community development and its related practices; especially neighbourhood management and volunteering.

¹⁷⁷ These historical roots were explored in sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5.

There are discussions to be had in the community development field in England about whether these re-shaped practices can still be referred to as community development. As section 2.2.5 demonstrated, the term ‘community development’ has not always been endorsed yet its practices have continued under other banners – particularly community work – until the term re-appears in policy; most commonly due to a change in government (cf. Banks, 2011; Loney, 1983; Popple, 2015). But, even governments who endorse community development shape its practices in accordance to the socio-economic and political landscapes that it is situated within (Emejulu, 2010; Gilchrist & Taylor, 2011; Taylor, 2012). My findings, particularly from the case study local authority, suggest that the promotion of community asset transfers, social enterprises and voluntary-run community groups under the Enterprise discourse was not ‘empowering’ and developing communities and local people, but overburdening them. As a result, I struggle to associate these practices with the community development values and methods outlined in section 2.2.1.

The **radical – reformist** binary reproduces in the Enterprise, National Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses. Some academic texts analysed differentiate between Alinskyan community organising and the Coalition Community Organisers Programme (cf. Bunyan, 2012; Mills & Robson, 2010; Taylor, 2011); with the former *privileged* as a more authentic and radical community organising, and the latter *marked* as reformist due to overlaps with community development¹⁷⁸ (Bunyan, 2012). Clearly, a core debate within the community development field is whether the Enterprise discourse promotes reformist or radical community organising. I suggested in section 2.4 that this debate was consuming the community development field and distracting it from discussing the silencing of community development as a distinct and legitimate community-based practice in this timeframe, and providing analyses as to why this was the case. My findings concur this is what happened.

The Social Justice / Democracy discourse reproduces the **radical - reformist** binary with key differences. Due to this discourse’s underpinning in egalitarian and redistributive equality and social justice, this discourse *marks* aggressive and

¹⁷⁸ Especially its links to a more social action model of community development (Bunyan, 2012) and asset-based community development (Fisher & Dimberg, 2016).

bullying Alinskyan community organising and does not equate it as a radical practice. Instead, the 'radical' signifier articulates in this discourse as being grounded in the radical democratic practices of contemporary - and independent of the state - civil society movements, such as *Occupy*, *Podemos* and the Arab Spring uprising (Errejón & Mouffe, 2016; Iglesias, 2015; Powell, 2013). Therefore, for community development (and community organising) to be radical under this discourse, it must operate within civil society movements committed to radical democracy¹⁷⁹.

The National Transformation discourse also reproduces this binary but it is unstable. Chanan & Miller (2013b) *mark* the 'radical' signifier due to its associations with anti-state community development practices, i.e. the British Community Development Projects (CDPs) (1969-1976)¹⁸⁰, and *privilege* reformist community practice instead. However, Glasman (2011) re-articulates and *privileges* the 'radical' signifier as "radical traditionalism"¹⁸¹ (p.20) promoted and practiced by both Blue Labour and, as Glasman (2011) argues, Citizens UK. These findings propose that both 'radical' and 'reformist' are *floating signifiers* that competing community development discourses 'fight' to re-define to coincide with the practices they endorse rather than an intrinsic quality within particular definitions, models and practices of community development.

Going further, I would argue that the **radical – reformist** binary embedded within community development is related to a **social democracy – neoliberalism** binary also present within the discursive field of community development¹⁸². As stated in section 2.2.5, the termination of the CDPs in the mid-1970s coincided with 'end' of social democracy and the rise of neoliberalism in England. In addition, the CDPs are consistently regarded as the 'birth' of radical community development in England (cf. Cooke, 1996; Ledwith, 2005; 2011; 2016; Mayo, 2011). It appears a causal relationship has formed within the community development field which associates the end of the CDPs, i.e. state-funded and radical / Marxist community

¹⁷⁹ Radical democracy shares liberal democracy's roots in freedom and equality but also embraces difference, dissent and antagonism to bring to the fore oppressive forces within society so that they can be challenged (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001).

¹⁸⁰ The CDPs were discussed in section 2.2.5.

¹⁸¹ As discussed in section 4.3.1.

¹⁸² This binary is visible in the National Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses – see Appendices H and J.

development, with the rise of neoliberalism (cf. Cooke, 1996; Craig et al., 2011b; Ledwith, 2011; Loney, 1980; 1983). This has advanced with commentaries on neoliberalism's 'turn to community', reported to have influenced the de-politicisation, co-option, reformism and dilution of community development (cf. Dean, 2015; Fremeaux, 2005; MacLeod & Emejulu, 2015; Raco, 2005; Shaw, 2008). However, section 2.2.5 outlined that community was also turned to as a solution against wider structural issues under social democracy, which resulted in reformist community development practices (cf. Goetschius, 1969; Craig et al., 2011b; Popple, 2015). My empirical findings suggest that radical democracy is emerging within the community development field as a successor to social democracy to provide a political alternative to neoliberal hegemony (cf. Emejulu, 2010; 2015; Featherstone et al., 2012; Powell, 2013) which the Social Justice / Democracy discourse champions. However, my findings also establish that even the 'radical' Social Justice / Democracy discourse reproduces unequal power relationships between professionals, volunteers and local people who are involved in community development processes. Consequently, it could be postulated that the embedded problems within community development extend beyond the overarching political ideologies and hegemonies which shape its practices¹⁸³.

Relatedly, my findings also establish that the third embedded problem in community development¹⁸⁴ is evidenced in all four available discourses. All discourses reproduce at least one professional subject position as the discourse's most agentic social actor who wields considerable discursive power and has the capability to 'empower' or transform less *privileged* subject positions. For example, under the Local Transformation discourse only community development workers have sufficient agency – and are critically conscious enough – to manage the breaking down of (attitudinal) barriers to achieve neighbourhood and/or personal transformation. This emphasis on building up the levels of critical consciousness in less agentic subject positions within community development, community organising and/or community practice processes replicates across all discourses except the Enterprise discourse¹⁸⁵. Across these three discourses only the most *privileged* professional subject positions – and the professional / skilled volunteer

¹⁸³ I return to this point in section 7.6 when discussing post-Enlightenment community development.

¹⁸⁴ See *figure 7.3*.

¹⁸⁵ My findings show the Enterprise discourse is more concerned with 'empowering' local people to run local community groups and services than developing critical consciousness.

in the Social Justice / Democracy discourse – have enough skills, agency and critical consciousness to cultivate critical consciousness in less *privileged* subject positions; especially passive and developing local people. These empirical findings link to my comments in section 2.2.2 where I advised that both radical community development and critical community practice - which promote Freirean ideologies and practices - also reproduce problematic community development processes where only professionals can facilitate the growth of critical consciousness in misguided or passive local people (Emejulu, 2010; Ledwith, 2011; 2016). As the National Transformation, Local Transformation and Social Justice / Democracy discourses demonstrate, community development processes containing elements of Freirean ideologies and practices may not be as ‘empowering’ and ‘transforming’ as their supporters claim.

In fact, all four available discourses largely reproduce local people as ‘disempowered’, misguided, weak or apathetic in relation to professional subject positions¹⁸⁶. This imbalance of agency and power is not restricted to the discursive encounters between professionals and local people. Both the Enterprise discourse’s ‘empowering’ professional volunteers and the Social Justice / Democracy discourse’s critical consciousness raising professional / skilled volunteers also reproduce as having considerable agency at the expense of less *privileged* volunteer and local person subject positions. Additionally, across all four discourses professional and/or skilled volunteers articulate as having more agency than both unskilled volunteers and unskilled local people.

Only one discourse reproduces an equal discursive encounter between social actors involved in community development processes. Community development workers and local people who are co-producing services together articulate as ‘empowered’ social actors under the National Transformation discourse. Despite active local people articulating with significant agency under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, their agency emerges through their ability to ‘empower’ and motivate passive and ‘weak’ local people to participate in civil society movements and, again, develop critical consciousness. This *privileging* of active local people at the expense of *marking* passive local people replicates across all four

¹⁸⁶ This includes, for example, the Enterprise discourse’s enforcer of change social entrepreneur who articulates as having enough agency and discursive power to ‘empower’ unskilled local people, the deserving and the undeserving poor.

discourses. For example, the deserving poor, unskilled local people and the undeserving poor are nudged to adopt the more *privileged* subject positions of the skilled or enforced volunteer within the Enterprise discourse. Under the National Transformation discourse, local people not coproducing services are nudged to do so. Finally, outsider local people not participating in community development projects are encouraged to *transform* into ‘empowered’ insider local people within the Local Transformation discourse.

These findings indicate that community development processes also reproduce a problematic **active citizen – passive citizen** binary where local people are expected to adopt an active and more participatory subject position within community development processes; and are potentially ‘othered’ / excluded if they demonstrate a temporal intransigence. This intransigence can manifest in two ways: (i) not participating more in the community development process, i.e. refusing to adopt the more *privileged* subject position of a volunteer; or (ii) becoming more active in a manner considered aberrant by other social actors involved in the community development process, i.e. adopting the *marked* and/or ‘othered’ subject position of the outsider, deviant or criminal¹⁸⁷. All four community development discourses reproduce at least one subject position that a local person could adopt where they were defined as either passive / misguided but capable of change; or aberrant and incapable of change.

As stated in the opening chapter, my motivation to undertake doctoral study was to deepen my understanding of ‘othering’ practices that can occur between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes. From my own experiences, these ‘othering’ practices manifested in the form of socially antagonistic relationships marked by differences; including designations of inferiority and superiority. My findings demonstrate that these designations are inherent within all four community development discourses and correlate with the processes of how subject positions are awarded particular distributions of discursive and political power in relation to the other subject positions available under that discourse. Local people and, to a lesser extent, unskilled volunteers articulate within all available discourses as combinations of

¹⁸⁷ As demonstrated in sections 5.3.1, 6.3.2(a) and 6.3.2(b) regarding the **insider local people – outsider local people** binary embedded within the Local Transformation discourse.

passive / misguided, lacking in critical consciousness or skills, or aberrant in some way; and therefore *inferior* to other subject positions available under that discourse.

Nevertheless, designations of inferiority are not limited to the subject positions available for local people and volunteers to adopt. Under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse the aggressive and bullying community organiser is 'othered' - and therefore designated as *inferior* – in relation to other subject positions available (cf. Mills & Robson, 2010). In practice, this could mean that if this subject position were enacted within an independent civil society movement operating under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse, socially antagonistic relationships could develop. This practitioner would likely be nudged to adopt a more *privileged* subject position, i.e. an 'empowering' and awareness raising community development worker, or risk exclusion from the community development or community organising process they were involved in. Likewise, under both the Enterprise and National Transformation discourses, 'disempowering' and bureaucratic community development workers would be nudged to adopt more *privileged* subject positions within neighbourhood management, community organising or social enterprise; or risk 'othering' and exclusion from these processes; which the empirical data confirmed¹⁸⁸.

My empirical findings also offer insight into how community development workers, volunteers and local people, who have previous experience of working under a particular community development discourse, can struggle to integrate within community development processes operating under other discourses. For example, a skilled volunteer with experience endorsing the Local Transformation discourse may struggle with the adoption of the same subject position under the National Transformation discourse¹⁸⁹. The skilled volunteer may therefore *mark* and/or 'other' professionals, volunteers and local people working under the National Transformation discourse as *inferior* to those operating under the Local Transformation discourse. Socially antagonistic relationships are likely to form due to this social actor refusing to not only fully enact the available skilled volunteer

¹⁸⁸ See sections 6.2.1 and 6.3.1.

¹⁸⁹ The skilled volunteer's role under the Local Transformation discourse would have likely focussed on facilitating personal and/or neighbourhood transformation. Within the National Transformation discourse, the skilled volunteer would instead focus on promoting and facilitating public sector reform and coproduction.

subject position, but also refusing to legitimate the National Transformation discourse's understanding of community development. If other social actors within this community development process also had previous experience of operating under the Local Transformation discourse, and 'prefer' its definition and understanding of community development, these social actors could challenge the hegemonic articulation of the National Transformation discourse within this particular community development process. Nevertheless, if other social actors, especially those with agency and discursive power, within this community development process were not prepared to enact the oppositional practices and subject positions available under the Local Transformation discourse, then the National Transformation discourse would remain the dominant discourse and the skilled volunteer would be nudged to assimilate under this discourse or risk exclusion¹⁹⁰.

My findings provide empirical evidence that there are, in fact, four embedded problems¹⁹¹ within the an opportunity to re-evaluate and tackle these underlying problems to strengthen field in England. The updated list of embedded problems is presented as *figure 7.4*. I have suggested that each of these problems have historical roots and my empirical evidence demonstrates how each one was present in the timeframe under study. This analysis offers the community development field in England an opportunity to re-evaluate and tackle these underlying problems to strengthen community development against future attacks to its legitimacy.

¹⁹⁰ It is important to reiterate that community development processes do not operate in social vacuums and the social actors will feel pressures / nudges from policy and funders to adopt particular subject positions under preferred discourses. For example, how social actors from CP1, CP2 and CP3 were nudged to operate under the dominant Enterprise discourse and its available subject positions during this investigation.

¹⁹¹ Including the problematic **active citizen – passive citizen** binary uncovered in this investigation as the fourth embedded problem within the community development field.

Figure 7.4 Updated list of embedded problems within the community development field

1. It is difficult to define community development and separate it from its related practices of community work, neighbourhood work, neighbourhood management, community organising and community practice; leading to porous boundaries and disagreements in the community development field as to where the limits of community development lie;
2. An unhelpful **radical – reformist** binary within not only community development but its related practices, where radical practices are largely unquestionably regarded as more 'pure' and 'authentic' forms of community-based practices;
3. Unequal and antagonistic relationships between professionals, volunteers and local people involved in community development processes that are rarely questioned, and problematised, within the community development field;
4. A problematic **active citizen – passive citizen** binary where local people are expected to adopt an active and more participatory subject position within community development processes; and are potentially *marked*, 'othered' and/or excluded if they demonstrate a temporal intransigence.

7.5 Limitations

In section 3.6.1, I presented the most prevalent criticisms against (P)DA and (P)DA methodologies and discussed how I overcame them. I now present four potential weaknesses of all facets of this investigation based upon my own reflections. The first is that I stopped collecting data and started data analysis in early 2014 for three interconnected reasons: (i) reaching data saturation; (ii) finalising a list of texts to be analysed; and (iii) fitting the complicated and multi-stage process of data analysis¹⁹², which took almost two years to complete, into my PhD schedule to submit by 2017. Consequently, all texts analysed were published / transcribed by early 2014 although the Coalition administration ended in May 2015. Where appropriate, I have outlined in this thesis how each of the five policy events chosen to study¹⁹³ were developed until May 2015. Nonetheless, this deadline for end of data collection / start of data analysis resulted in a missed

¹⁹² See section 3.3.1.4.

¹⁹³ (i) 'Big Society' / volunteering, (ii) localism / community asset transfers; (iii) austerity / public sector cuts; (iv) Community Organisers Programme; and (v) social enterprise.

opportunity to incorporate the pilot of the Community Organisers Programme in the case study local authority, from mid-2014 to mid-2015, into this investigation. However, my principal supervisor and I undertook an impact evaluation of this pilot (Reynolds & Grimshaw, 2015) to ensure this opportunity was not squandered entirely. My five-year publication plan from this thesis, and related research, includes re-analysing the transcripts collected during this impact evaluation with PDA to determine which discourses were dominant, marginalised and silenced under the Community Organisers Programme to potentially add to the findings of this investigation.

The second potential weakness concerns the limitations of using a single-case study to establish how national discourses were re-articulated, enacted and challenged at a local level in England. Although my findings show that the Enterprise discourse remained the dominant community development discourse in the case study local authority from 2010-2015, this cannot be claimed as representative of the remaining 325 local authorities in England. What is interesting about the case study local authority chosen is that it is historically Labour-led with the Conservatives gaining no seats in 2010¹⁹⁴. It was therefore likely that the Enterprise discourse would have been challenged, and potentially superseded, by the already-established Partnership discourse in this local authority; and that this could have been the case for other historically Labour-led local authorities in England. The empirical findings show that although some elements of the Partnership discourse were incorporated into the Enterprise discourse, it was chiefly incorporated into the radical New Labour 'Other'; hence the Partnership discourse and its associated subject positions were not available for key social actors to adopt in the case study local authority¹⁹⁵. Thus, what this single-case study can attest to is the robust hegemony of the Enterprise discourse in the timeframe under study.

The third potential weakness is that the three community development projects chosen to study are not representative of *all* community development projects in this local authority. As detailed in section 3.5.3, I chose these particular projects due to differences in structure, objectives and funding sources to seek dominant,

¹⁹⁴ See section 3.5.3.

¹⁹⁵ This was evidenced in the council-run youth and community development projects reported to be the first to close their doors in this local authority – see section 5.3.1.1.

marginalised and silenced discourses across this local authority. If I had selected other community development projects, I could have uncovered projects that potentially: (i) enacted the National Transformation and Partnership discourses; (ii) operated under the Social Justice / Democracy discourse *and* connected to a wider civil society movement; and (iii) articulated alternative discourses. However, I chose CP1, CP2 and CP3 because they fulfilled the five inclusion criteria outlined in *figure 3.11*. The remaining community development projects in this local authority I came into contact with did not fulfil these inclusion criteria hence were excluded from this study¹⁹⁶.

The final potential weakness is that power is not a central concept of in this thesis, which is atypical of both post-structuralist and discourse analytic research (cf. Chouliaraki, 2008; Sarup, 1993; Ziai, 2016). The emphasis on power is more pronounced in PDA methodologies that use Foucauldian archaeological and genealogical approaches than those operationalising Laclau & Mouffe's (1985; 2001) neo-Gramscian logic of hegemony (Howarth, 2013). Adopting a Foucauldian archaeological or genealogical approach was not appropriate for this investigation as this was not a historical study but a contemporaneous investigation that was unfolding as the research was taking place¹⁹⁷.

Howarth (2013) *privileges* PDA methodologies underpinned by Laclau & Mouffe's (1985; 2001) work over heavily Foucauldian PDA methodologies, and claims that the latter needs the former "... to explore the formation and dissolution of wider social formations, whilst foregrounding the role of ideology in shaping and reproducing relations of power and domination" (Howarth, 2013, p.188-189). Whilst I concur, if I could make one change in this investigation it would be to incorporate a more Foucauldian analysis of power into the conceptual framework for two reasons. First, although Hansen's (2006) three-pronged approach to studying identity constructions was useful to establish which subject positions were regarded as more agentic and 'empowered' than others in community development processes; both Hansen (2006) and Laclau & Mouffe (2001) do not really engage with what being 'empowered' actually means beyond relational identity formation where one subject position is 'empowered' at the expense of

¹⁹⁶ Section 3.5.2 details my recruitment and selection processes and criteria.

¹⁹⁷ See section 3.4 for my rationale not to adopt a *historical development* research design to study the history of competing community development discourses in England.

another. With hindsight, this zero-sum understanding of empowerment is limited and, again, a more Foucauldian understanding of power may have been more useful here¹⁹⁸.

Secondly, there is little scope within the theoretical, methodological and analytical frameworks chosen to explore how sociocultural factors, i.e. gender, age, social class, disability, 'race', 'ethnicity and sexuality, intersect with: (i) the availability of subject positions to particular social actors within each discourse; (ii) a social actor's decision to adopt a specific subject position under an available discourse; and (iii) the levels of agency a social actor has compared with other social actors¹⁹⁹ who have adopted the same subject position within a particular community development project. PDT and PDA methodologies are commonly operationalised to establish discourses at national and international levels and, as a result, the Selves under study can be very broad, i.e. the West, the Balkans, the World Bank; and these can reproduce overly homogenous subject positions to adopt (cf. Campbell, 1992; Connolly, 1991; Emejulu, 2010; Hansen, 2006). I attempted to overcome this 'drawback' in my analysis by bringing to the fore the *spatial*, *temporal* and *ethical* identities for each subject position to illustrate the full range of the subject positions within each discourse. Only the Local Transformation discourse and its available subject positions explicitly demarcate between socio-cultural factors²⁰⁰. For future study, I would advise researchers planning to use these theoretical, methodological and analytical frameworks to build-in a more Foucauldian conceptualisation of power; especially if studying discourses at the meso and micro levels.

¹⁹⁸ Particularly his commitment to productive, rather than zero-sum, power and his differentiations between conditioning, subjectivising and discursive power (cf. Foucault, 1975; 1978).

¹⁹⁹ Who have different socio-cultural factors.

²⁰⁰ See sections 5.3.1, 6.3.2(a) and 6.3.2(b) that discuss the **insider local people – outsider local people** binary, and its *floating signifiers* of 'chavs', 'alternative young people', 'white', 'black', 'older people', 'younger people', 'men' and 'women' embedded within the Local Transformation discourse.

7.6 Post-2015 community development and future research

Since May 2015 there have been a number of political changes in England, which are illustrated in *figure 7.5*:

| Figure 7.5 Key developments in England since May 2015 | |
|--|--|
| <i>May 2015</i> | Election of Conservative majority government with David Cameron as prime minister (PM). Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg resign as leaders of the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats respectively; |
| <i>July 2015</i> | Tim Farron wins Liberal Democrat leadership race by a 13% margin (Sparrow, 2015); |
| <i>Sep 2015</i> | Jeremy Corbyn becomes Labour Party leader with a landslide victory (59.5%) (Mason, 2015). |
| <i>June 2016</i> | UK referendum on whether the UK should stay in or leave the European Union (EU). 51.9% voted to leave (Electoral Commission, 2017); |
| <i>July 2016</i> | David Cameron stands down as PM with Theresa May becoming PM-elect after being announced as Conservative Party leader. Substantive Cabinet shuffle with Philip Hammond announced as Chancellor of the Exchequer; |
| <i>March 2017</i> | PM Theresa May triggers Article 50. Britain has two years to exit and obtain a deal with the EU; |
| <i>April 2017</i> | PM Theresa May calls for a snap general election to secure Brexit (Britain exiting the EU) mandate; |
| <i>June 2017</i> | General election results in a hung parliament. Conservative Party forms an agreement with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) to support a Conservative minority government with Theresa May remaining as PM. |

Despite such significant political and economic shifts, evidence suggests that the Conservative Party - and its majority (2015-2017) and minority (2017-) governments – have not significantly shifted from the objectives of the Coalition programme of public sector reform and austerity²⁰¹ (Blond, 2017; Dorling, 2016; Eaton, 2017; The Spectator, 2016). Thus, the public sector cuts continue with existing public sector workers visibly struggling in the aftermath of seven years of pay restraint where median earnings have dropped by 6% in real terms²⁰² since

²⁰¹ Sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 outline these objectives.

²⁰² Including inflation.

2010 (Bryson & Forth, 2017; Mason & Asthana, 2017). Locality no longer runs the Community Organisers Programme and, in 2015, the Company of Community Organisers (COLtd) was formed to continue the legacy of the Community Organisers Programme and the community organising movement in England (Reynolds & Grimshaw, 2015). The Office of Civil Society funded a second round of the programme for one year (2015-2016) at the scaled-down cost of £500 000 (Cabinet Office, 2015h), but its focus had changed to providing start-up grants of up to £16 000 to community organising projects committed to using the powers of the Localism Act 2011 (COLtd, 2015). No additional funds have been announced since 2016.

It is likely that the Enterprise discourse has remained hegemonic under May's successive governments, although some dominant practices may have been re-articulated²⁰³, i.e. less emphasis on social action and more on national identity due to Brexit. Arguably, Jeremy Corbyn's election as Labour Party leader and the subsequent reshuffling within the shadow cabinet²⁰⁴ suggests Corbyn's more social democratic Labour Party is considerably different from the 'Blue' Labour Party led by Ed Miliband (cf. Anderson, 2016; Newman, 2016; Richards, 2016). A new oppositional discourse is thus under construction within the Labour Party. But, how community development is conceptualised within that discourse is not yet clear. Thus, the future of community development, and the Community Organisers Programme, remains uncertain in post-2015 England.

Positively, the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a new global development framework in 2015 has presented the community development field in England a chance to connect with international funding²⁰⁵ and the international development field after a six-decade gap²⁰⁶ (Howard & Wheeler, 2015a; 2015b; Ife, 2016; IACD/CDS, 2016). Four key events / works emerge as important in shaping the community development field in England if it embraces this path. These are illustrated in *figure 7.6*:

²⁰³ Particularly with David Cameron standing down as both PM and then as MP in 2016.

²⁰⁴ He was elected as leader twice. First in September 2015 and again in August 2016 following a backlash from certain factions of the Labour Party and a substantial number of resignations from the shadow cabinet (cf. Crines, 2017).

²⁰⁵ Including the United Nations Sustainable Goals Fund – see <http://www.sdgfund.org/>

²⁰⁶ See section 2.2.4 which discusses the roots of international (community) development in the colonies.

Figure 7.6 Post-2015 (community) development work focussing on the sustainable development goals (SDGs)

1. Themed edition of the *Community Development Journal* (published October 2015) responding to: “what role community development could play in making the new global development framework, the sustainable development goals (SDGs), relevant and effective?” (Howard & Wheeler, 2015a, p.548);
2. The 2016 International Association for Community Development (IACD) and Community Development Society (CDS) annual conference addressing the implications of the SDGs for community development on an international level (IACD/CDS, 2016);
3. The publication of Ife’s (2016) *Community Development in an Uncertain World: Vision, analysis and practice* (2nd edn.). This new edition is influenced by the SDGs and calls for the international community development field to adopt an ecological, social justice, post-Enlightenment and indigenous perspective;
4. The release of Ziai’s (2016) *Development Discourse and Global History: From colonialism to the sustainable development goals* which operationalises a Foucauldian post-structuralist discourse analysis methodology to deconstruct development discourse across history. This includes an analysis of the SDGs.

Academics and practitioners involved in these events broadly agree that the SDGs are both a continuation and a replacement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that ended in 2015 (Dixon, 2015; Howard & Wheeler, 2015b; Ife, 2016; Ziai, 2016). The MDGs were eight international development goals established in 2000 following the UN Millennium Summit, and were endorsed by the UN, World Bank and 189 governments worldwide (Nelson, 2007; Ziai, 2011). Overall, the MDGs proposed to “... improve the health, nutrition, and well-being of some of the 1.2 billion humans who live on less than the equivalent of a dollar a day” (Nelson, 2007, p.2041). Evaluations of the MDGs have been mixed; with praise for some successes in reducing global poverty, but criticism for its hierarchical top-down implementation resulting in “... the poorest and most marginalised often not reached” (Howard & Wheeler, 2015b, p.553; Ife, 2016; Ziai, 2016).

The seventeen SDGs were introduced as a post-2015 global development agenda that would address the MDG’s shortcomings - including environmental sustainability issues and the need for citizen engagement – through a commitment to a more participatory and sustainable model of development (Howard & Wheeler, 2015b; Ziai, 2016). Community development’s reputation for successfully engaging with local people through methods such as participatory action research

is well-documented (cf. Bacon, Mendez & Brown, 2005; Hiebert & Swan, 1999; Shanahan & Ward, 1995; Titterton & Smart, 2008). Although a focus on environmental sustainability and its benefits for local communities is not new to community development (cf. Blewitt, 2008a; Cannan, 2008; Fagan, 1998; 1999; Haigh, 2006), it has never been a dominant paradigm within the field (Fagan, 2006; Ife, 2016). This is changing in the light of the SDGs:

“Community work is potentially one of the most effective ways to develop a more sustainable society... the expertise of community workers, in terms of both knowledge and skills, has much to contribute to the Green movement; it is therefore not surprising that the Green movement has been one of the forces behind an upsurge of interest in community development.” (Ife, 2016, p.46)

It is refreshing to note that the community development field in England can: (i) use the SDGs to propel community development back into the national (and international) policy arena (cf. Howard & Wheeler, 2015a; 2015b), and (ii) adopt sustainable development as a dominant paradigm to put community development at the forefront of challenging more global and ecological concerns (cf. Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016; Ife, 2016). However, I would urge the field to err on the side of caution. Ife’s (2016) promotion of the community worker’s ‘expertise’ is concerning, especially in relation to both my own and Emejulu’s (2010) evidence of socially antagonistic and unequal relationships between community development professionals and local people. In addition, Ziai’s (2016) recent study of both the MDGs and SDGs suggests that pre- and post-2015 development discourse remains entrenched in colonial values and practices stemming from the European Enlightenment and 19th century evolutionism²⁰⁷. Using PDA, Ziai (2016) ascertains that development discourse consistently reduces to *privileging* a particular knowledge of what a good, civilised, developed and democratic society looks like, and how this can be implemented in societies / communities who don’t fit this universal standard (ibid; Ife, 2016). Although there have been repeated attempts to re-define development in a more critical manner to escape its colonial roots (cf. Escobar, 1995; Esteva, 1992; Sen, 2011), Ziai (2016) insists this has been futile:

²⁰⁷ Evolutionism’s focus on societies and cultures evolving in set stages within a universal pattern (cf. Darwin, 2008) and the Enlightenment project’s classification of the natural and social world into a unified and orderly system of hierarchies and binaries (cf. Derrida, 1997).

“The web of meanings tied around the [development] concept during six decades of development policy cannot be unmade simply by adopting a progressive definition. The – perhaps unwanted – implications are still there, even if we try to give them a different meaning... A simpler alternative is to drop the concept and find a new one.” (p.65)

The parallels between Ziai’s (2016) analysis and my own criticisms of the community development field’s pre-occupation with re-producing ‘new’ and ‘improved’ definitions of community development to shake off negative connotations associated with particular historical, and colonial, definitions and practices, are evident. Similar to my own discussions on the ‘community development’ signifier, Ziai (2016) concludes that ‘development’ has become an *empty signifier* that can be filled with almost any content and, thus, can be co-opted into hegemonic projects to achieve most aims and objectives, i.e. from the Sandinista socialist agenda in Nicaragua²⁰⁸ to the neoliberal agenda of the World Bank²⁰⁹. Ziai (2016) also warns that, even as an *empty signifier*, ‘development’ always articulates, in some form, as a Eurocentric Enlightenment project underpinned by evolutionist assumptions, i.e. that an ideal-type of society epitomises the most advanced in terms of evolution and development, and that ‘the rest’ are developing towards this. Consequently, delineations of inferiority and superiority – of a *developed* Self and an *underdeveloped* ‘Other’ - remain endemic within development discourse no matter how the concept is defined.

Once again, the overlap between Ziai (2016) and my own research is clear. I establish that all four community development discourses available between 2010 and 2015 articulate some subject positions with more discursive and political power than others. This discursive and political power is ‘measured’ by how agentic a subject position was represented to be in relation to other subject positions, and whether they were ‘empowered’, ‘disempowered’, ‘disempowering’ or ‘empowering’. Most often, the subject positions available for local people to adopt are the least agentic and are ‘disempowered’ or ‘disempowering’ figures. But, each discourse offers a developmental path whereby local people can become more ‘empowered’ by working towards the adoption of a more *privileged* subject position, i.e. the skilled volunteer of the Enterprise and Local

²⁰⁸ The Sandinistas (FSLN) founded in 1961 to overthrow an authoritarian dictatorship led by the Somoza family. In 1979 they achieved this and re-structured Nicaragua as a socialist country, including distributing the land evenly amongst *men* in the country (cf. Harris & Vilas, 1985; Lee, 2015; Linkogle, 1996).

²⁰⁹ Discussed in section 2.2.5.

Transformation discourses; the local person coproducing services under the National Transformation discourse, and the angry local person active in civil society movements and community development processes of the Social Justice / Democracy discourse. Resultantly, each discourse nudges local people to move towards the adoption of a more agentic *and available*²¹⁰ subject position or risk designations of inferiority²¹¹. Whilst this issue may not be as ‘extreme’ as Ziai’s (2016)²¹², I will be bold and suggest there is enough overlap to warrant a similar investigation to Ziai’s (2016) with community development in England instead as the discursive field under study. This could involve using Hansen’s (2006) PDA methodology with a *historical development* temporal perspective to trace the genealogy of community development in England back to the Enlightenment project to determine if community development and development share similar problematic roots.

It is important to state that this future investigation need not be fatalistic. Although Ife (2016) corroborates Ziai’s (2016) claims regarding the embedded colonial and evolutionist practices within development (including community development), he also unequivocally stipulates that community development can move forward to adopt a post-Enlightenment approach free of such underpinnings. Ife (2016) calls for an ecological, social justice, post-Enlightenment and indigenous approach to community development that involves “... critiquing and deconstructing the dominant Western worldview that has been at the heart of colonisation” (p.40), and superseding this with an environmental and social justice²¹³ perspective that seeks to “... validate Indigenous perspectives as an alternative way of living... [and] incorporates a critique of the worldview of Western Enlightenment modernity” (p.30). Nonetheless, Ife (2016) concedes that the international community development field first needs to become aware of such roots to then incorporate ways it can guard against colonial practices. Considering this, I propose a post-doctoral study where the first stage is to trace the genealogy of community

²¹⁰ The subject positions available to professionals may not be available to local people under particular discourses.

²¹¹ This links to colonial community development practices as outlined in section 2.2.4, i.e. “... ‘backward’ populations could be transformed through development and modernisation” (Newman & Clarke, 2016, p.33).

²¹² He analysed development projects where workers and NGOs were from the Global North and local people from the Global South.

²¹³ An egalitarian and redistributive understanding of social justice.

development in England back to the Enlightenment period to determine which values, principles and practices have become embedded in community development. The second stage would then use these findings to investigate what post-Enlightenment community development would look like in England. This post-doctoral study would also consider whether the term 'community development' should be abandoned and, if so, what it could be replaced with.

Appendix A – Full list of selected texts

A. Official Discourse

(i) *Key Political Influences on Policy*

- Blond, P. (2010) *Red Tory: How Left and Right Have Broken Britain and How We Can Fix It*. London: Faber & Faber.

Individual texts:

- (i) Blond (2010a) 'Chapter 9 – Creating Popular Prosperity.'
 - (ii) Blond (2010b) 'Chapter 10 – The Civil State.'
 - (iii) Blond (2010c) 'Chapter 11 – Why Red Tory?'
- Cameron, D. (2010) 'Big Society Speech.' Delivered on the 19th July 2010.
 - Glasman, M., Rutherford, J., Stears, M. & White, S. (eds.) (2011) *The Labour Tradition and the Politics of Paradox*. Ebook.

Individual texts:

- (i) Miliband (2011) 'Preface.'
- (ii) Glasman *et al.* (2011a) 'Introduction - The Labour tradition and the politics of paradox.'
- (iii) Glasman (2011) 'Chapter 1 - Labour as a radical tradition.'

(ii) *National Policy Papers / Guidance*

- Cabinet Office (2010a) *Building a stronger civil society: a strategy for voluntary and community groups, charities and social enterprises*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2010b) *Compact: The Coalition Government and civil society organisations working effectively in partnership for the benefit of communities and citizens in England*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2010c) *Decentralisation and the Localism Bill: an essential guide*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2010d) *The Coalition: Our Programme for Government*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2010e) *Giving Green Paper*. London: Office for Civil Society.

- Cabinet Office (2010f) *Supporting a Stronger Civil Society*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2010g) *Better Together: Preparing for local spending cuts to the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2011a) *Giving White Paper – making it easier to take part in a bigger, stronger society*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2011b) *A Plain English Guide to the Localism Act*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2011c) *Open Public Services: white paper*. London: The Parliamentary Bookshop
- Cabinet Office (2012a) *Creating the conditions for a more integrated society*. London: Office for Civil Society
- Cabinet Office (2012e) *Making it easier to set-up and run a charity, social enterprise or voluntary sector organisation: progress update*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Cabinet Office (2013e) *Encouraging Social Action*. London: Office for Civil Society.
- Woodhouse, J. (2013) *The Voluntary Sector and the Big Society*. House of Commons Briefing Paper, No. 5883. London: House of Commons.

(iii) *Local Policy Papers / Strategies / Guidance*

- Council (2010a) *Vision 2030 Sustainable Community Strategy for [Local Authority]*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council.
- Strategic Partnership (2010) *New Government Impact on Partnership*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council
- Council (2010b) *The [Local Authority] Compact 2010-2013: Delivering Vision 2030*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council.
- Council (2012a) *[Local Authority] Council Review of Localism – Final Report*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council
- Council (2012b) *[Local Authority] Communities Together*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council

- Council (2012c) *[Local Authority] Communities Together Action Plan 2012-2014*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council
- Council (2012d) *[Local Authority] Community Asset Transfer Policy (2012)*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council
- Council (2013) *Report from the [Local Authority] Volunteers Big Idea Development Session*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council
- Council (2014) *[Local Authority] Corporate Asset Strategy and Management Plan 2012-2016 (2014 Update)*. [Local Authority]: [Local Authority] Council

B. Marginal Political / Oppositional Discourse

(i) Community Development Academic Books

- Banks, S., Butcher, H., Orton, A. & Robertson, J. (2013) *Managing Community Practice: Principles, Policies and Programmes* (2nd edition). Bristol: Policy Press.

Individual texts:

- (i) Banks *et al.* (2013a) 'Introduction.'
- (ii) Banks & Butcher (2013) 'Chapter 1: What is community practice?'
- (iii) Mayo & Robertson (2013) 'Chapter 2: The History and Policy Context: Setting the scene for current debates.'

- Chanan, G. & Miller, C. (2013) *Rethinking Community Practice: Developing Transformative Neighbourhoods*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Individual texts:

- (i) Chanan & Miller (2013a) 'Chapter 1 – Introduction.'
- (ii) Chanan & Miller (2013b) 'Chapter 3 - Community practice and the state.'
- (iii) Chanan & Miller (2013c) 'Chapter 9 - Conclusion: strategy for community practice.'

- Powell, F. (2013) *The Politics of Civil Society: Big society and small government* (2nd edition). Bristol: Policy Press.

Individual texts:

- (i) Powell (2013a) 'Introduction.'
 - (ii) Powell (2013b) 'Chapter 1 - Doublethink: the 'Big Society, Small Government Debate.'
- Taylor, M. (2011) *Public Policy in the Community* (2nd edition). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Individual texts:

- (i) Taylor (2011b) 'Chapter 3 - Community in Policy and Practice.'
- (ii) Taylor (2011c) 'Chapter 8 - Power in the Policy Process.'

(ii) *Academic Journal Articles*

- Alcock, P. (2010a) 'Building the Big Society: a new policy environment for the third sector in England.' *Voluntary Sector Review*, 1(3), pp. 379-89.
- Bunyan, P. (2012) 'Partnership, the Big Society and community organising: between romanticising, problematizing and politicizing community.' *Community Development Journal*, 48(1), pp. 119-133.
- Davoudi, S. & Madanipour, A. (2013) 'Commentary: Localism and Neoliberal Governmentality.' *Town Planning Review*, 84(5), pp. 551-63.
- Dean, J. (2013) 'Manufacturing Citizens: The dichotomy between policy and practice in youth volunteering in the UK.' *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 35(1), pp. 46-62.
- Featherstone, D., Ince, A., Mackinnon, D., Strauss, K. & Cumbers, A. (2012) 'Progressive Localism and the construction of political alternatives.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(2), p. 177-182.
- Lowndes, V. & Pratchett, L. (2012) 'Local Governance under the Coalition Government: Austerity, Localism and the 'Big Society'.' *Local Government Studies*, 38(1), pp. 21-40.
- Lowndes, V. & McCaughie, K. (2013) 'Weathering the perfect storm? Austerity and institutional resilience in local government.' *Policy & Politics*, 41(4), pp. 533-49.
- Mills, J. & Robson, S. (2010) 'Does community organising empower or oppress?' *CDX Magazine* (Winter), pp. 12-14.

- Tam, H. (2011) 'The Big Con: Reframing the state/society debate.' *Public Policy Research*, 18(1), pp. 30-40.
- Taylor, M. (2011a) 'Community Organising and the Big Society: Is Saul Alinsky turning in his grave?' *Voluntary Sector Review*, 2(2), pp. 257–64.
- Taylor, M. (2012) 'The changing fortunes of community.' *Voluntary Sector Review*, 3(1), pp. 15–34.

(iii) *Grassroots Interviews*

Community Development Project 1

8 interviews:

- *CP1_Prof1* - full-time community development worker (LA Council). Female, 51-60 (age).
- *CP1_Prof2* - part-time youth and community development worker (LA Council). Male, 31-40.
- *CP1_Vol1* - volunteer (chair of the management committee). Female, 51-60.
- *CP1_Vol2* - volunteer (ex-service user and youth & community work student). Male, 18-25.
- *CP1_VolLP1* - 'peer support' (service user with extra responsibilities). Female, 11-17.
- *CP1_LP1* - service user. Male, 11-17.
- *CP1_LP2* - service user. Female, 11-17.
- *CP1_LP3* - service user only (also has some extra responsibilities but unofficial). Female, 11-17.

Community Development Project 2

6 interviews:

- *CP2_Prof1* - part-time youth and community development worker (voluntary and community sector). Male, 41-50 (age).
- *CP2_Prof2* - part-time community development worker (voluntary and community sector). Female, 41-50.

- *CP2_VolLP1* - local volunteer (also service user and trustee). Female, 21-30.
- *CP2_VolLP2* - local volunteer (also service user). Female, 71-80.
- *CP2_VolLP3* - local volunteer (also service user). Female, 51-60.
- *CP2_Vol1* - external volunteer (youth & community work student). Female, 18-25.

Community Development Project 3

6 interviews:

- *CP3_ProfVol1* - full-time volunteer (manager / co-founder of project). Female, 41-50 (age).
- *CP3_Vol1* - full-time volunteer (admin support). Female, 41-50.
- *CP3_Vol2* - part-time volunteer (also trustee). Male, 41-50.
- *CP3_Vol3* - full-time volunteer (admin support). Male, 41-50.
- *CP3_VolLP1* - part-time volunteer (also trustee and ex-service user). Female, 51-60.
- *CP3_LP1* - service user. Male, 51-60.

Appendix B – Text selection criteria

| <i>Text</i> | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
|---|---------------------|---|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------|
| Blond (2010a) | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | No | Big Society Localism (CATs) Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Blond (2010b) | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | No | Big Society Localism (CATs) Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Blond (2010c) | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | No | Big Society Localism (CATs) Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cameron (2010) | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Austerity Community Organisers | Yes | Yes |
| Miliband (2011) | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society | Yes | No |
| Glasman et al. (2011a) | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism (CATs) | Yes | No |
| Glasman (2011) | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Community Organisers | Yes | No |
| Cabinet Office (2010a) Building a Stronger Civil Society... | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Volunteering Localism (CATs) Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2010b) Compact: The Coalition Government and... | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | No |

| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
|---|---------------------|---|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------|
| Cabinet Office (2010c) Decentralisation and the Localism Bill. | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism (CATs) Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2010d) Our Programme for Governance | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2010e) Giving Green Paper. | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Volunteering Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2010f) Supporting a Stronger Civil Society. | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers | Yes | Big Society Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2010g) Better Together... | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2011a) Giving White Paper. | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Volunteering Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2011b) Plain English Guide to the Localism Act. | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Localism (CATs) Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2011c) Open Public Services White Paper. | Official (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism (CATs) Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2012a) Creating the conditions for... | Official (national) | Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism (CATs) | Yes | No |

| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
|---|---------------------|---|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------|
| Cabinet Office (2012e) Making it easier to set up a charity... | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | No |
| Woodhouse (2013) The voluntary sector and the Big Society. | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Cabinet Office (2013b) Encouraging Social Action... | Official (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Volunteering Austerity Community Organisers Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Council (2010a) Vision 2030 Sustainable Community Strategy for [Local Authority] | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | Yes | Yes |
| Council (2010b) [Local Authority] Compact 2010-2013. | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | Yes | No |
| Strategic Partnership (2011) Review of Partnership... | Official (local) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Localism (CATs) Austerity | Yes | No |
| Council (2012a) [Local Authority] Review of Localism. | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Localism (CATs) Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Council (2012b) Communities Together Strategy. | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism (CATs) | Yes | Yes |
| Council (2012c) Communities Together Action Plan. | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism (CATs) | Yes | No |

| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
|--|------------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|---------------|-------------|
| Council (2012d) Community Asset Transfer Policy. | Official (local) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism (CATs) Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Council (2013) Report from [Local Authority] Volunteers Big Idea. | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | Yes | No |
| Council (2014) [Local Authority] Corporate Asset Strategy 2010-2015. | Official (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism (CATs) Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | No |
| Banks et al. (2013a) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Austerity Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Banks & Butcher (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professional Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Community Organisers | Yes | Yes |
| Mayo & Robertson (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism Community Organisers | Yes | No |
| Chanan & Miller (2013a) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Chanan & Miller (2013b) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism Austerity | Yes | Yes |

| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|---------------|-------------|
| Chanan & Miller (2013c) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Powell (2013a) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Austerity | Yes | No |
| Powell (2013b) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Social enterprise | Yes | No |
| Taylor (2011b) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Community Organisers | Yes | Yes |
| Taylor (2011c) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism | Yes | Yes |
| Alcock (2010) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Community Organisers Social enterprise | Yes | Yes |
| Bunyan (2012) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Community Organisers | Yes | Yes |
| Davoudi & Madanipour (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism | Yes | No |
| Dean (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | Yes | No |
| Featherstone et al. (2012) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers | Yes | Big Society Localism | Yes | Yes |

| | | | | Austerity Community Organisers | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|------------------|-------------|
| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
| Lowndes & Pratchett (2012) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Lowndes & McCaughie (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Mills & Robson (2010) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Community Organisers | Yes | No |
| Tam (2011) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Austerity | Yes | Yes |
| Taylor (2011a) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Community Organisers | Yes | Yes |
| Taylor (2012) | Marginal / oppositional (national) | Professionals Local people | Yes | Big Society Localism Community Organisers | Yes | Yes |
| CP1_Vol1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP1_Vol2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |
| CP1_Vol3 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------|
| CP1_Prof1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism (CATs) Austerity | No | No |
| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
| CP1_LP1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |
| CP1_LP2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP1_LP3 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP1_Prof2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |
| CP2_VoLP1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP2_VoLP2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP2_Prof2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |
| CP2_VoLP3 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP2_Prof2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |

| | | Local people | | Social enterprise | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|---|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------|
| Text | Intertextual model | Articulations of identity | Temporal perspective | Policy events | Has authority | Widely read |
| CP2_Vol1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP3_Vol1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |
| CP3_Vol2 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity Social enterprise | No | No |
| CP3_LP1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Austerity | No | No |
| CP3_ProfVol1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism Austerity | No | No |
| CP3_Vol3 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering Localism Austerity | No | No |
| CP3_VolLP1 (2013) | Marginal / oppositional (local) | Professionals Volunteers Local people | Yes | Big Society / Volunteering | No | No |

Appendix C – Invitation letter for participants



Research on Volunteering and Communities 2013-2014

Dear ____ (name) ____

My name is Andie Reynolds and I am a postgraduate doctoral student with the University of Northumbria. For my doctoral award, I am undertaking an in-depth study to evaluate what influence volunteering and community development have on the lives of local people who live in the LA area.

I am looking to recruit professionals, volunteers and local people who are part of community development projects, and use community services, within the LA area for this study. You have received this invitation to participate in this research project because you are involved in a community development project within the LA area.

You are being asked to participate in an interview to discuss your role within the community development project. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes and will be held at the premises of your project unless you wish it to be held elsewhere. The interview will be tape-recorded with your permission. You are free to withdraw from participating in this doctoral study at any point.

The research will be published by the University of Northumbria as a doctoral thesis. It may also be used for academic publications and/or conferences. However, I would like to also produce an evaluation that can be used by Gateshead Council, GVOG and all interested community groups to improve the impact of both community development and volunteering in all communities within Gateshead. Your name and specific details of the community project will be kept confidential and will not appear in any printed documents.

My contact details are: **Andie Reynolds**, Graduate Tutor - Children, Families and Communities, University of Northumbria. Tel: 0191 215 6482. Mob: xxxxxxxxxxxx. Email: andie.reynolds@northumbria.ac.uk. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me. Please see the attached information sheet / frequently asked questions (FAQs) and consent form if you wish to participate in this study.

Appendix D – Information sheet for participants



Research on Volunteering & Communities 2013-2014

Information Sheet

Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs)

1. What is this study about?

This study aims to evaluate what influence volunteering and community development has on the lives of local people who live in the LA area. To do this, I will be talking with professionals, volunteers and local people in LA who are part of, or use the services of, community projects in their area. These discussions will be centred round each person's experience of being involved in their community project and how they believe the project is benefiting the lives of the local people in the LA area.

2. Why have I been asked?

You have been asked because you are a professional worker, volunteer or a service user of a community project within the LA area that aims to empower local people and promote their active participation in LA area and beyond. In addition, your commitment to this community (as a worker, volunteer or service user) is long-term (at least one year) which allows you to participate in the entire duration of this study.

3. What am I being asked to do?

You are being invited to participate in an interview to discuss the following:

Your history of working with, or being involved in, the community group/project you are currently involved with and how this compares with your previous experiences in working with community groups/projects within the LA area. Specifically, you will be asked about your experiences as a professional, volunteer or local person/service user within these community groups/projects and your understandings of what the terms 'professional', 'volunteer' and 'local person/service user' means to you and how your understandings have changed throughout your involvement within different community groups/projects.

4. What happens if I do not want to participate?

If you do not wish to participate you simply do not complete the consent form attached. The study will still be taking place with the community project you are involved with but you would not be asked to disclose your experiences. Someone else from the community project will be asked to participate instead.

5. What would happen if I agreed and then changed my mind?

You are free to withdraw from participating in this interview at any time. All you need to do is comment that you do not wish you continue. You are also free to do this at the follow-up interviews to discuss the results from the first interview. All that will happen is that I will make alternative arrangements i.e. recruit other people to take part in the study.

6. Will my name appear in the results published?

Your name and specific details of the community project will be kept confidential and will **not** appear in any printed documents associated with this study.

7. What will happen to the data that is gathered?

All data gathered from this study **must** be in compliance with the terms of the Data Protection Act (1998). This Act states that participants' personal data should only be recorded and processed:

- With the express permission of the individual to which it relates
- For the purposes for which the person gave their permission
- Retained for as long as necessary to execute that purpose

In addition, all the data that is given to me during this study will either be locked away in filing that only I can access and/or encrypted electronically. After completion of the study, hard copies of data (i.e. journals, photos, video recordings) will be disposed of securely. Electronic copies of data will continue to be encrypted and will be stored for up to a period of five years after completion of the study.

After we have agreed on the analysis of the initial interview, you will then be invited to take part in the second part of this study which will involve reflecting on your own personal development and experiences within this project and how you overcome any difficulties that arise during the project. This will be done through the data collection method of your choice. You will receive further information in due course about what will happen in this second stage and what will happen to the data once it is collected.

8. Who will read the published results?

The study will be published by the University of Northumbria as a doctoral thesis. This means that staff and students at Northumbria University will be able to read the published results. Staff and students at universities throughout the UK and

internationally can request permission to read the thesis but this can only be granted by myself or the University of Northumbria.

I would also like to produce an evaluation of volunteering and community development within LA area that can be used by LA Council, LA CVS and all interested community groups/organisations/projects within the LA area to improve the quality of community services provided within the LA area. Again, your identity and the specifics of the community group/organisation that you are involved with will be protected so that you cannot be identified in any subsequent publication.

9. What questions am I likely to be asked at the initial interview?

These are a list of the questions that will be asked at the interview:

- What is your current role within the community group/project and for how long have you been involved in this project?
- What attracted you to become part of this community group/project and what is your understanding of the services that the community group/project provides in the community?
- What are the main barriers that this community group/project faces?
- Have you always been a professional/volunteer/service user within this project? How has your role changed or developed within your involvement in this group/project?
- Have you been a professional/volunteer/service user within other community groups/projects? What have been your experiences in working with these different groups/projects? How do these experiences compare to your current involvement within this community group/project?
- What characteristics and experiences do you think you bring to this community group/project?
- What do you hope to gain from your involvement with this project?
- How would you describe a “professional” within the community project and what makes them different from everyone else involved?
- How would you describe a “volunteer” within the community project and what makes them different from everyone else involved?
- How would you describe a “local person/service user” within the community project and what makes them different from everyone else involved?
- What do you see as the future for this community group/project?

- Anything else you would like to discuss?

10. Who do I contact if I want to know anything else about this study?

You can contact me and/or my project supervisor if you require further information about this study. Our contact details are:

Supervisor

Professor Gordon Jack
B009 Coach Lane Campus West
University of Northumbria
Coach Lane
Benton
Newcastle Upon Tyne
NE7 7XA

Tel: 0191 215 6301

Email: gordon.jack@northumbria.ac.uk

Me

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NE7 7XA

Tel: 0191 215 6482 / xxxxxxxxxxxx

Email: andie.reynolds@northumbria.ac.uk

Appendix E – Consent form for participants



**Consent Form
2014**

Research on Volunteering and Communities

2013-

Please tick the boxes that correspond to your choices

YES

NO

I wish to participate in the introductory interview

☐☐

I have read and understand the purpose of the study

☐☐

**I have had the chance to ask questions about the study
and these have been answered to my satisfaction**

☐☐

I consent to being audio and/or video recorded

☐☐

**I understand that I can withdraw at any time if I change my mind
and this will not affect my involvement in the community project**

☐☐

**I know that my name and details will be kept confidential and
will not appear in any printed documents**

☐☐

I am over 18 years old

☐☐

Please sign and print your name, in the spaces provided, to confirm your decision...

(sign) _____ (print) _____

If you are 18 or under then your parent or guardian must sign and print their name also, to confirm your participation in this study:

(sign) _____ (print) _____

The researcher to sign and print their name in the spaces provided to confirm that the participant understands the purpose of the research and that the participant has the right to withdraw at any time

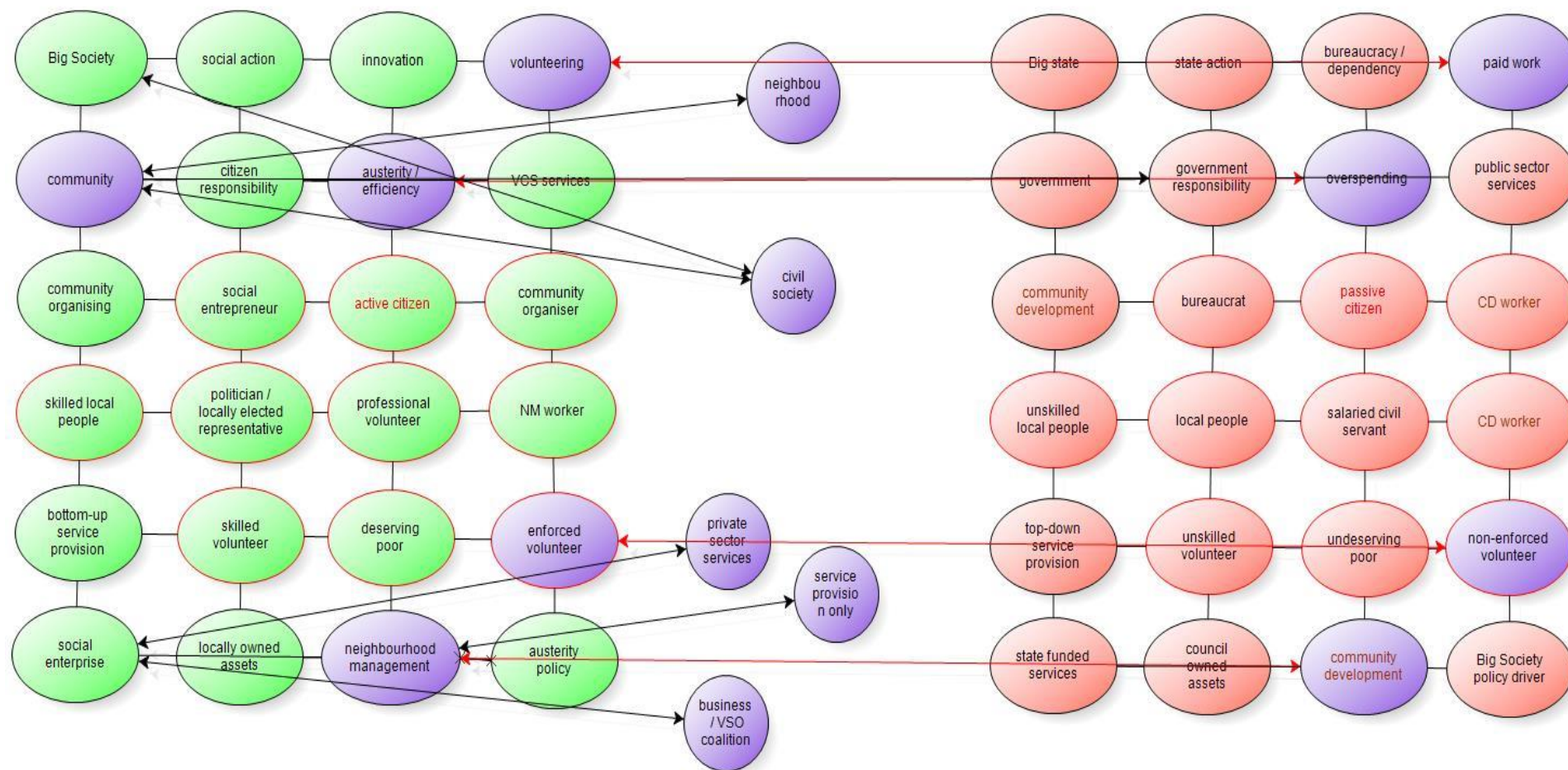
(sign) _____ (print) _____

Please complete this form at your introductory interview. Thank you.

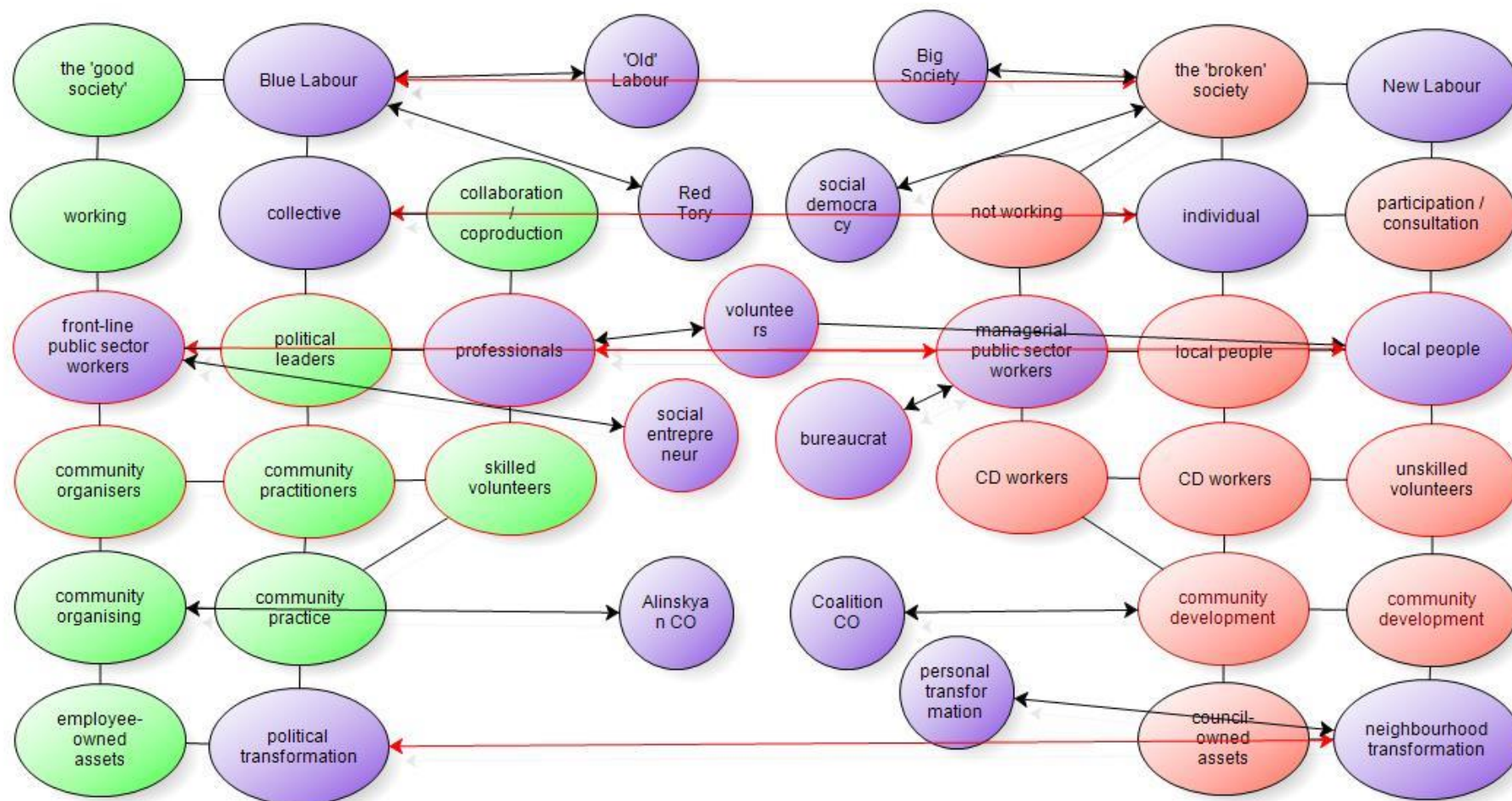
Appendix F – Interview questions

- What is your current role within the community group/project and for how long have you been involved in this project?
- What attracted you to become part of this community group/project and what is your understanding of the services that the community group/project provides in the community?
- What are the main barriers that this community group/project faces?
- Have you always been a professional/volunteer/service user within this project? How has your role changed or developed within your involvement in this group/project?
- Have you been a professional/volunteer/service user within other community groups/projects? What have been your experiences in working with these different groups/projects? How do these experiences compare to your current involvement within this community group/project?
- What characteristics and experiences do you think you bring to this community group/project?
- What do you hope to gain from your involvement with this project?
- How would you describe a “professional” within the community project and what makes them different from everyone else involved?
- How would you describe a “volunteer” within the community project and what makes them different from everyone else involved?
- How would you describe a “local person/service user” within the community project and what makes them different from everyone else involved?
- What do you see as the future for this community group/project?
- Anything else you would like to discuss?

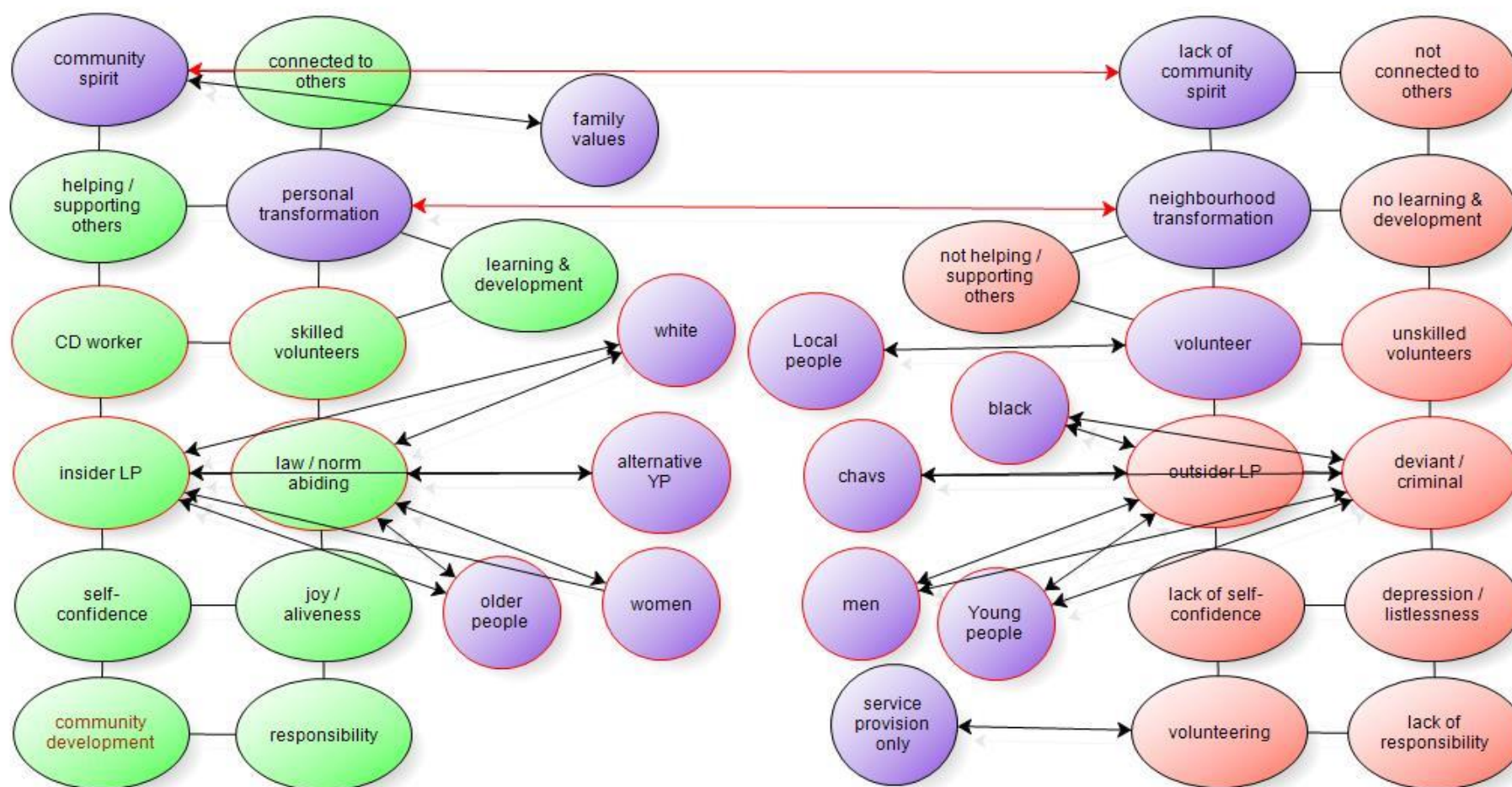
Appendix G – Full Enterprise discourse identity web of binaries



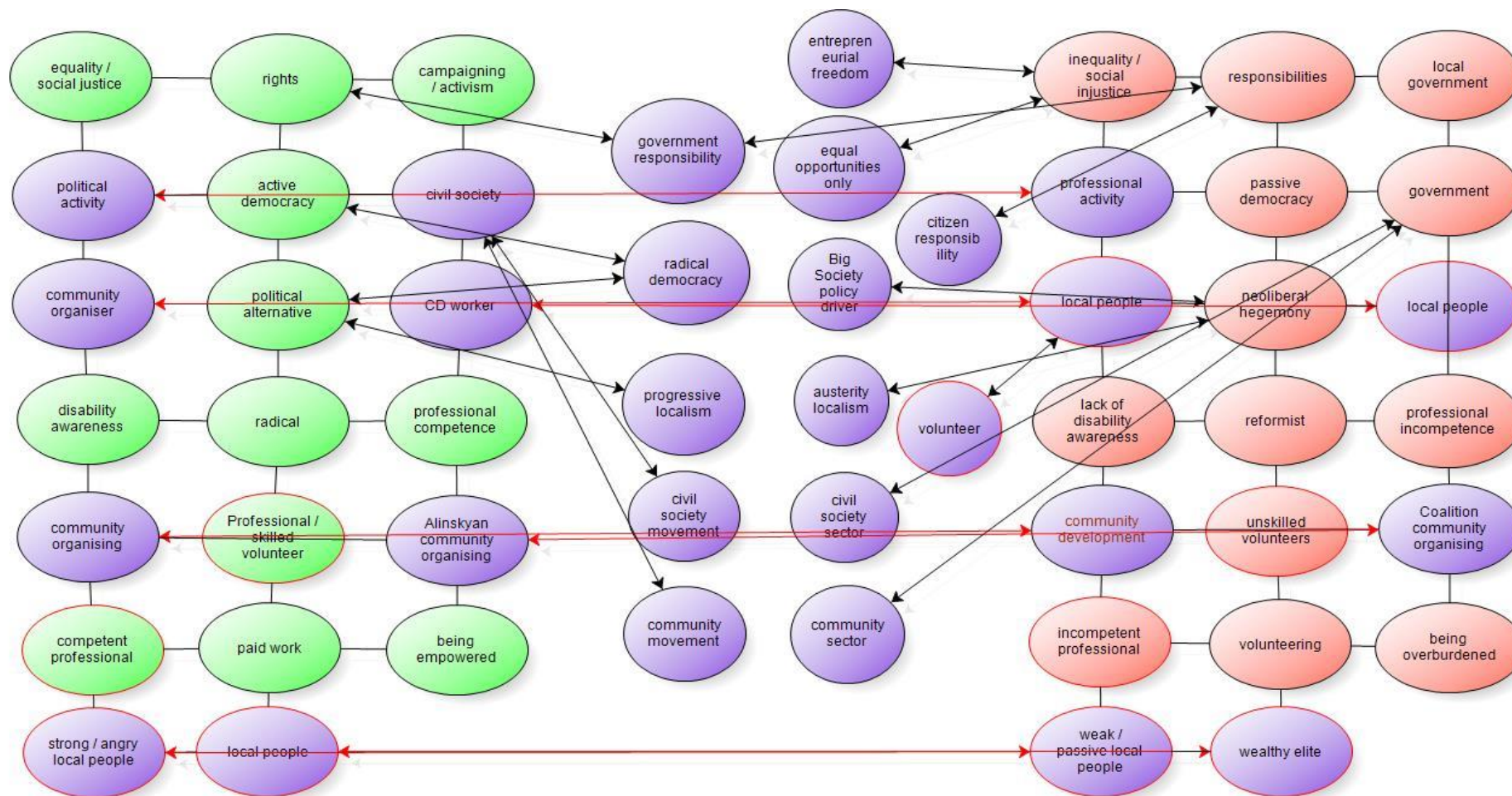
Appendix H – Full National Transformation discourse identity web of binaries



Appendix I – Full Local Transformation discourse identity web of binaries

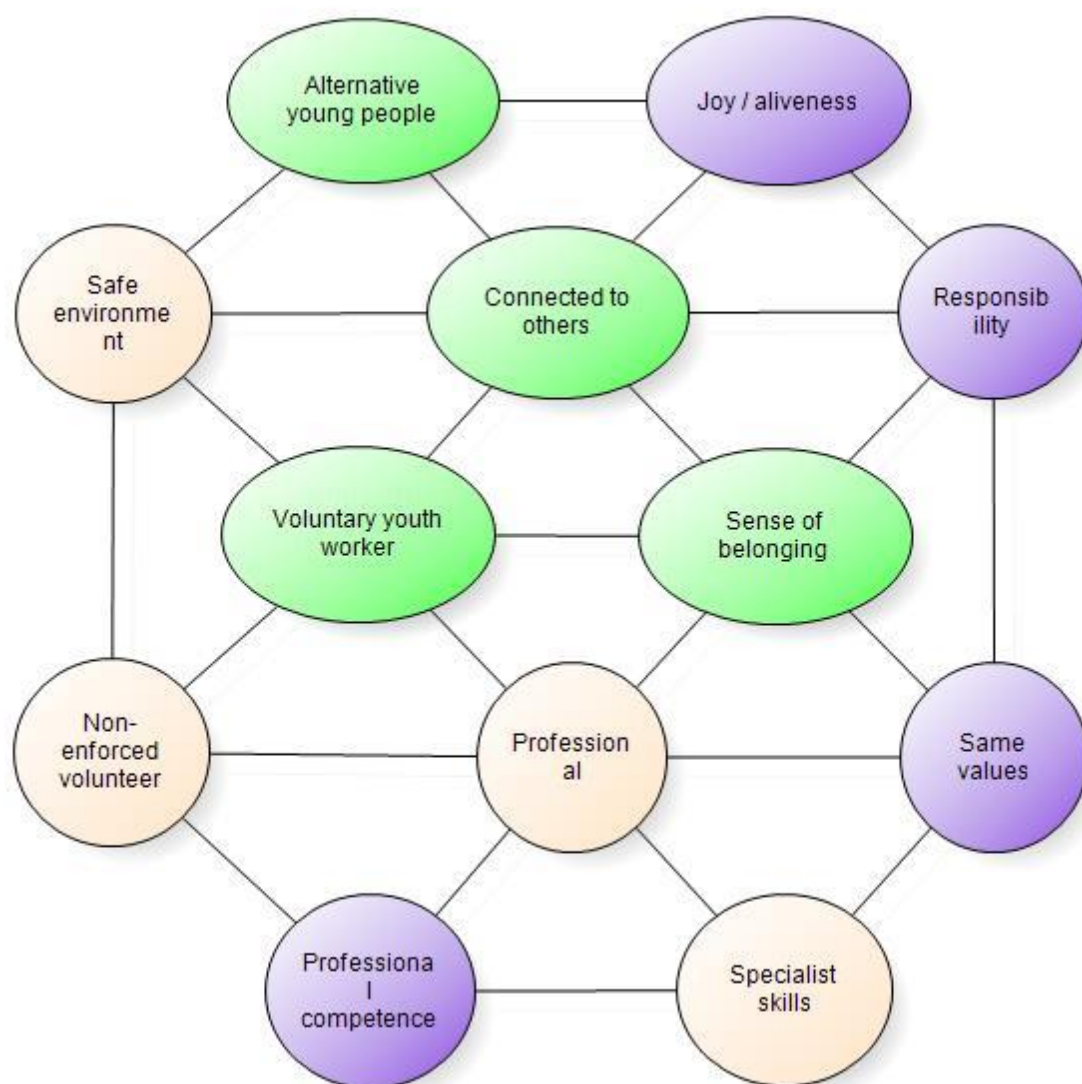


Appendix J – Full Social Justice / Democracy discourse identity web of binaries



Appendix K – Follow-up interview with CP1_Vol2

Self



Nodal points

1. **Sense of belonging:** “If truth be told, I like the social aspect of this. The fact that I can actually... take the skills that I only know – through studying music at college – eh... and to be able to, eh... provide... a backbeat to people if they need a drummer, or a guitarist, or a bassist. Even keyboard because I’ve played the keyboard in the past as well. I just find this a great experience for young people. Eh, to come together and actually play music together with people. Eh, instead of just being locked away in the bedroom.”
2. **Connected to others:** “It definitely changed my life for the better. Eh... it was great... I mean... There’s isn’t that many people that I still talk to from... back when ah first started. But there are some people that I do, em, still get on with. I mean, there’s was a band that was here, back then, that are called [name]... Eh... and they started making a name for themselves. They’ve split up now. But, eh, it was through them that I’ve now met other people as well. That ah would consider really good friends. We’ve got similar sort of interests as well. So, it’s been... so... all in all... If it wasn’t for this place, I would never have met them. So... ah... I mean... on the... one the face of it... there are certain aspects which I’ve got out of it that... But then, if you look deeper, there are a whole... plethora of others.”
3. **Alternative young people:** (on previous youth group in neighbouring town)
“Coz, at the end of the day, there was only a couple of us that... the rockers, the goths and that. The rest were like, the stereotypical chavs. So, uh, yeah... I mean... I don’t want to stereotype anybody but – generally speaking – it was sorta **that** crowd that seemed to, eh, develop in that area.”
4. **Voluntary youth worker:** They’ve sorta... em... kinda... taken me in as... one of them. When... eh... (pause) It’s easy, to sorta like... eh, I can imagine it would be easy for some people to say ‘you’re still a youth so I’m still gonna treat you like that’ but they’ve never done that. They’ve actually tret me as one of them. Eh so... I mean... again... this place has been a great resource. It’s been, eh... a great... learning resource for, eh, when I was young, as far as the music was concerned. But now, the staff have been a great learning resource – for me – as from a youth worker’s perspective as well. At the end of the day, it’s not their job to do that. It’s all, kinda... naturally fit into place.”

5. **Joy/Aliveness:** “But also, community projects like this... that could class as volunteering. Eh... it’s... eh... for me... technically anything that you could get paid for, but you are doing it without getting paid... that’s volunteering. I guess that I’m just lucky that, eh, I’m volunteering in something that I actually enjoy doing. It’s, eh... it’s the same thing as work. There are people that are in jobs that don’t like their jobs. And there are people who absolutely love it; can’t get enough of it. I think the same goes for voluntary work.”

Floating Signifiers

1. **Same vs different music/values:** “I mean, I... people were always much more friendly here, in general. And em... there was only a few of us that really, eh, really... got on; at the one in [neighbouring town]. Over here, there was all sorts of different... eh... all sorts of different people. Eh... into different sorta music. Eh... it was great to ah... actually bring my guitar, and plug it in, and be able to play with people.”

Same in CP1 but different in other youth project? What is the common bond that unites all?

2. **Joy/Aliveness vs Depression/listlessness:** “I actually moved away for university, and I ended up having a nervous breakdown. Eh... and I came back... and I ended up on the sick due to, eh... severe depression. And... (long pause) that was the September of 2011. I got into a band pretty soon after that just to, em... fill my life with different things. Started going to a place called, em, [name], which is a great resource for homeless people and, eh, people with health problems. Like depression... and stuff like that. Eh... and got a couple of qualifications through there as well... like a Maths qualification. And (pause) it was also a great, eh... a great place for, em... for helping me express myself through writing as well. Eh... and eventually... my mum came up with the idea ‘why don’t you... go back to the community centre and volunteer there?’. I hadn’t actually thought of that, until my mum brought it up. I just kind of stopped for a moment and thought... yeah! Yeah, I’ll do that. So, I got in touch with [CP1_Prof1] that same day an’ she said, ‘yeah, just come along’.”

Are these feelings specific to CP1? What is it about CP1 that makes you feel alive?

3. **'Good' vs 'bad' professional boundaries / professional competence vs paranoia** "Well... the line... I think the line is sorta... drawn up by a... higher authority. Eh, quite often a higher authority that has no interest in getting involved in the project itself. I think – in today's society – there's all sorts of fears about... children getting abducted, or raped... or all sorts of stuff. Eh... so, eh, I can understand the fear. But, the problem is that... out of that fear, there is born, other things like that."

"As workers... we're not like... we're not like... old codgers that don't understand you or anything like that. We do have similar opinions (laughs) we do. We do have similar ideas of... what... you like, and stuff. Eh... but at the same time, it does come off as a bit... eh... weird if all of a sudden the workers were... meeting up with these youths... **outside** of the centre."

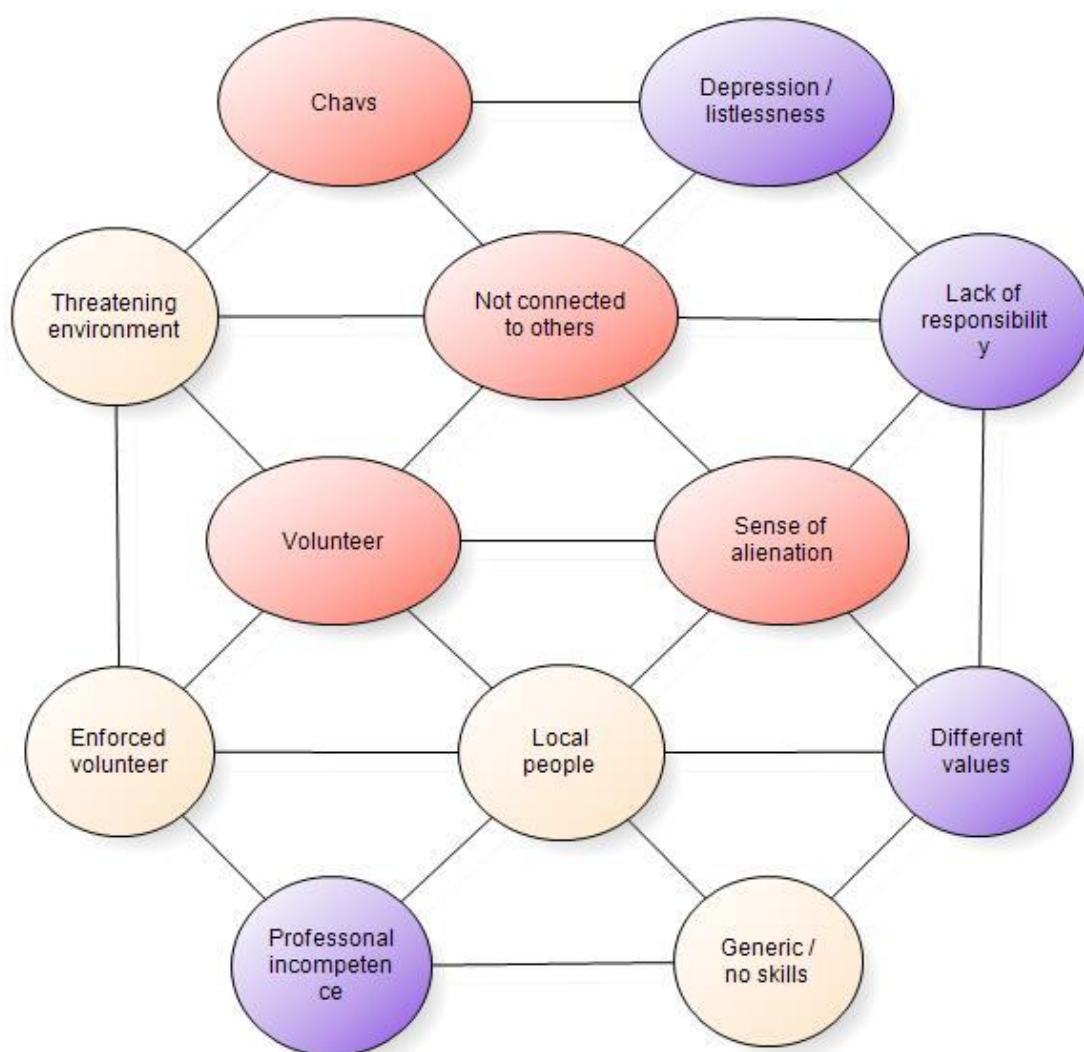
Are the differences between 'good' and 'bad' clear cut? What makes a professional 'good' and what makes them 'bad'? How does this tie with competence and paranoia?

4. **Taking on responsibility vs not:** "Eh... there is more responsibility... for a professional / paid youth worker. But, em, that's a given really as they've actually gone through the education for it. Eh... all the health and safety and all that stuff. Uh... but beyond that... I am expected – as a voluntary youth worker – I am expected to, eh, follow the same guidelines as them."

"I mean, em... I have started going to, em, this work programme – every two weeks... in Gateshead. Ah em... yeah... there might be some... yeah... some... university stuff.... That ah... might need to go through, in order to do that full time. But... eh... I don't think that's... actually necessary for, em, part-time work."

How much responsibility should a PT youth worker take on? How is this different from a volunteer?

'Other'



1. What image of a person do you imagine by the characteristics/values I have presented here?
2. Do you know people who would fit all / some of these characteristics/values?
3. What do you think would happen to the music project if someone like this was to join CP1 as a worker, volunteer or a young person?
4. Why do you think people who fit this description are not part of CP1?

Comparison with others from the project

1. Are these the values and characteristics you would expect from someone involved in the music project? Why do you think this way?
2. Do you see any key similarities between that person's values and characteristics in comparison to your own? Can you explain why?
3. What do you think this person adds to the music project?
4. Do you think this person is well integrated into the music project? If so, why? If not, what potential issues might they have?
5. Are there any characteristics or values that they have that you would like to develop yourself? Why?
6. Are there any characteristics or values that they have that you wouldn't like to develop for yourself? Why?
7. Do you think you both have similar ideas about what the music project is all about?

Appendix L – Selected list of publications / conference papers

Publications

Reynolds, A. & Grimshaw, L. (2015) *Evaluation of the Community Organisers Programme in a local authority district in England*. Northumbria University, Locality and COltd.

Bailey, C. & Reynolds, A. (2015) *Building Volunteer Capacity: Final Report*. Northumbria University, Bullion Community Resource Centre and Durham City Council.

Reynolds, A. (2014) 'Negotiating Self in an Arena of 'Othering': How key policy drivers – since the election of the 2010 Coalition government – are reconstituting the identities and social practices of key social actors, in three community development projects, in the north east of England.' *Resilience: An International and Interdisciplinary Conference*, 30th May 2014, University of the West of Scotland, Ayr. Paper published online.

Reynolds, A. (2013) 'Community Development as Competing Discourses: Using Poststructuralist Discourse Theory to Deconstruct UK Community Development Praxis.' *The Call to Community: Poststructural Thought and Political Alternatives*, 17th September 2013, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK. Paper published online.

Conference proceedings / presentations

Reynolds, A. (2016) 'Redefining Sustainability and Democracy: Lessons from the Community Organisers Programme in England.' *Sustaining Community Change: building local capacity to sustain community development initiatives*. International Association of Community Development / Community Development Society Joint Annual International Conference, 23rd – 27th July 2016, Bloomington, Minnesota, USA.

Reynolds, A. (2015) 'Coalition Policies, Volunteering and Grassroots Social Activism in the North East of England.' *Dissent Protects Democracy*. National Coalition for Independent Action (NCIA) Roadshow, 16th July 2015, Alington House Community Centre, Durham, UK.

Reynolds, A. (2015) 'Community Development as Competing Discourses: the marginalization of community development through the embedding of key policy and policy drivers of the coalition government (2010-2015).' *Austere Times: the impact of coalition policies on social care services*, 14th April 2015, Derwentside College, Consett.

Reynolds, A. (2014) 'Negotiating Self Under Regimes of 'Othering': How social policy can reconstitute the identities and social practices of key social actors in three community development projects in the north east.' *Resisting the demonisation of 'the Other': State, nationalism and social control in a time of crisis*. 42nd Annual Conference of the European Group for the study of Deviance and Social Control, 3 - 6 September 2014, Liverpool John Moore University. Audio file:

<https://soundcloud.com/europeangroup/andie-reynolds-2014-negotiating-self-under-regimes-of-othering>

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